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THE MAKING OF THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH

BY

ALLEN B. HINDS, B.A.

SCHOLAR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. STANHOPE ESSAY 1892

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PREFACE

In offering this little book to the public, I will not venture to apologize for its numerous shortcomings and faults, of which I am but too painfully conscious. I dare to hope that it may be found to throw some additional light upon an important period of our national history. This work has been compiled almost exclusively from original materials and contemporary documents. Although most of these are printed and readily accessible, yet surprisingly little use has been made of them. As it has been thought unadvisable to overcharge the text with notes, some account of these authorities may not be out of place in this preface.

The material for Chapters II. and III. has been almost entirely drawn from a book, published anonymously, entitled "A Brieff Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort." This first appeared in 1564, having been published with a controversial purpose. The author claims to be impartial, but his bias towards the Puritans is absolutely unmistakable. Although his name has never appeared on the title-page of his book, it is fairly clear, from internal evidence, that he was none other than William Whittingham himself. From this source

the Church historians, Fuller, Heylin, and Collier, have all drawn their information. Naturally they look upon the events from a different standpoint, and it is no small tribute to Whittingham's veracity, that they are able to do so without in the least adding to or taking away from his narrative.

The edition of which I have made use is one published at London in 1827. The pagination of the original edition has been preserved. In the modest but valuable preface are quoted the arguments in favour of Whittingham's authorship, together with an interesting passage from Calderwood's History relating the history of Knox's departure from Frankfort in the Reformer's own words. Of this passage I have made a free use on pp. 27–29.

To correct and supplement the "Troubles at Frankfort" there remains, unfortunately, but very little. The four volumes of Zurich letters (Parker Society) are surprisingly reticent on the subject, though the self-exculpatory letters of Cox and Whitehead to Calvin (p. 31) are of great interest and importance. The two latter volumes contain letters relating to the life of the exiles at Zurich (p. 44), and some few particulars of their return home on hearing the news of Mary's death. Strype, in his Memorials, has preserved an interesting letter of Fox (p. 23). The anonymous "Life of Whittingham" (Camden Society) contains practically nothing about the exile, but it gives a few particulars of the Dean's flight from England, as well as of the translation of the Bible. McCrie's "Life of Knox," like the rest of the later authorities, adds nothing to the information given by the contemporary writers.

For the history of the Church at Geneva I am chiefly

indebted to the article "Versions" in the late Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," to an edition of the "Breeches" Bible in my possession, to Dr. Grote's "Dictionary of Music" (Old Hundredth), and to Strype's "Life of Grindal." A rare pamphlet, entitled "Livre des Anglois à Geneva," contains a list of all the members of this Church, the dates of their admission, the names of the office-bearers, and a register of births, marriages, and deaths. It is enriched by some valuable notes by Mr. J. S. Burn, dealing with the history of the principal persons mentioned in it. The "Troubles at Frankfort" is again of the greatest value.

Diplomatic sources contribute to form almost the whole of Chapter IV. They are contained in the Calendars of State Papers published by the Master of the Rolls, in the "Ambassades de Noailles," and in some letters of De Selva, published by Ribier. Of the English Calendars by far the most important is that entitled "Mary, 1553–8: Foreign." It contains the whole of the correspondence between the English Ambassador in France, Dr. Wotton, and the English Court. Very little seems to have escaped Wotton's observation, and his letters are full of the doings of Carew, of the Killigrews, Staffords, and Henry Dudley. He supplies us with a complete exposure of the plots of the exiles and of King Henry II.'s secret dealings with them. The "Ambassades de Noailles," as published by the Abbé Vertot, show no trace of this. They, indeed, make mention of Mary's anger at the harbouring of rebels in France; they contain Noailles's bland assurances that this really was not the case; and nothing more. To judge by this plausible correspondence, one might conclude that no persons were more

innocent than Henry and his ambassador, and that the reports of Wotton and the anger of Mary merely proceeded from a disordered imagination. Fortunately, I have come across a supplement to this correspondence, that throws quite another light on the subject.

At the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères at Paris are two volumes, labelled respectively "Angleterre 14 (1553–6)," and "Mémoires et Documents, Espagne, 229." The former volume contains nothing but copies, for the original letters of Noailles perished, I believe, in the fires of the Commune. This collection does not represent the material used by the Abbé Vertot, and many passages are but excerpts. In the absence of any indication as to their origin, it seems to me that they may have been cut out from the manuscripts of Abbé Vertot's book as matter unfit for publication. This supposition is somewhat strengthened by the fact that each page is crossed out in black pencil.

The extracts begin in February, 1553, and continue till May, 1554. There is then a break until November, 1556, but the remaining notes are scattered, though they describe some interesting episodes—the invasion of Stafford, his speech on the scaffold (p. 100), and Mary's state of fear and unrest (p. 111). The letters dealing with Carew are the most interesting, and completely justify all Wotton's reports. It is only too evident that King Henry and his ambassador were conspiring to hoodwink the English Government.

The Spanish documents are of a less striking nature. They consist mainly of copies from the correspondence of Charles V. and Philip with Renard. As far as the English

exiles are concerned, the Spanish ambassador evidently owes his information to Wotton. Many of those letters are printed in the Granvelle Papers. Among these copies is one original that calls for special notice. It relates the arrival of several English refugees in France, and goes on to describe the reception of Carew at the French Court (p. 73). I should be completely at a loss were I called upon to classify this extraordinary paper as a diplomatic document.

By far the most interesting of all the materials with which I have had to deal are the Venetian State Papers. Less stiff and formal than most of the diplomatic correspondence, they seem instinct with life, and afford a most vivid picture of the period with which they deal. For the years 1553–8, within which my subject is included, there are two volumes, numbered V. and VI., the latter in three parts. They contain the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors in England during this time—of Soranzo (till Aug., 1554), of Michiel (Aug., 1554–May, 1557), and of Surian (April, 1557, to the end), as well as Soranzo's letters from France, to which country he went as ambassador on leaving England. There are several letters of Cardinal Pole, and two interesting communications from Annibale Litolfi.

These papers contain very little about Carew, but abound with information on the raids of the pirates, on Dudley's plots, and on the invasion of Stafford. They give the only account we have of the defeat of Peter Killigrew in the Channel (p. 82).

The other authorities were merely supplementary. De Selva's correspondence (Ribier, Paris, 1666) serves to illustrate

the alarm felt by France at the proposed marriage of Philip and Mary, and her intention to do her utmost to prevent it. The Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1547–1603, Addenda, for nearly the same period, and Acts of the Privy Council, supply a few facts here and there. Machyn's Diary is exceedingly disappointing, and gives little more than the names of those executed for entering Scarborough. Vowel's "Life of Carew," edited by Maclean, and the same work in vol. xxviii. of the "Archæologia," both pass over the period of exile in a few lines, and claim the complete innocence of their hero. The other authorities for the period are even less satisfactory. I have searched Lingard, Sharon Turner, Godwin, Tytler, in vain. Griffet's "Nouveaux Éclaircissements sur l'Histoire de Marie" (Amsterdam, 1766) are simply culled from the "Ambassades de Noailles."

For Chapter V. I am again chiefly indebted to the Venetian ambassadors. Supplementary authorities have been Strype's "Memorials" for Plowden, the "Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary" (Camden Society), and Cobbett's "Parliamentary History." In every part of this work I have made use of the "Dictionary of National Biography," and my only regret has been that more volumes were not published.

In a subject of this kind, much labour has necessarily been thrown away. Besides fruitless searchings in the royal correspondence at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in the royal accounts at the Archives Nationales, of the same city, I have waded through the voluminous works of Jewel, Grindal, Fox, and Becon, in the vain hope of finding something bearing on my subject.

In conclusion, I cannot but express my gratitude to all librarians, both English and foreign, with whom it has been my good fortune to come into contact. But in a very special manner my thanks are due to Mr. Arthur Hassall, Student and Tutor of Christ Church, not only for the encouragement he has given me in the preparation of this book, but for the cheerful way in which he accepted the arduous task of revising dull and uninteresting proof-sheets.

ALLEN B. HINDS.

December, 1894.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no period of our history to which Englishmen look back with so much satisfaction as the reign of Elizabeth, and no other of which we may be more justly proud. In every branch of the national life to which we turn we meet with the same characteristics which serve to distinguish the epoch. The whole nation seems rejuvenated, the men of the time seem to live in an atmosphere of joy and of unusual exuberance. Liberty, contentment, an intense patriotism and a loyalty amounting almost to a passion, reign everywhere.

What, however, is more striking than even this extravagant joyfulness, this youthful delight in living and breathing, is its sudden appearance at a time when, according to all outward appearances, it might least have been expected. A more unlikely prologue to the glories of Elizabeth could scarcely be found than the reigns of her sickly brother and of her bigoted and infatuated sister. Henry VIII. had indeed aspired to be the arbiter between the two great sovereigns of the Continent, but in this ambition he had undoubtedly failed. Under the nominal government of Edward VI. the nation proved incapable of maintaining its dignity abroad. Under Mary England was in very real danger of sinking into a Spanish province, and towards the end of her reign, Calais, the great outlet for our commerce,

and the reputed key of the country, fell into the hands of the French. At home the condition of affairs was hardly better. Under Edward the country was ruled by a coterie of Protestants, while under Mary it was the prey of a clique of Catholics, neither party considering anything but their own interests, and determined to ruin or to rule the state. Two Venetian ambassadors, men renowned for acute and accurate observation, have left us detailed descriptions of our country and of the manners of Englishmen during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. They agree in describing the mass of the people as restless, impatient of control, and ready to revolt. Less than fifty years before the exploits of Drake and the appearance of the works of Spenser and Shakespeare, Soranzo writes that the English have no taste for war or for literature! After such a declaration it is hardly necessary to insist further on this very remarkable contrast. A more profitable task will be to examine, as far as possible, the causes which combined to produce a change so startling and so complete. In the following pages it will be my object to show, as far as I may, how the reign of Elizabeth was prepared under the government of her predecessors, and to what extent the glories of her age were due to the tribulations that had preceded.

In the matter of religion, it has been freely admitted on all sides that Elizabeth profited by a reaction from the cruelties of Mary, which enabled her to found a strong Protestant Church with the consent of the large majority of Englishmen. Incontestable as this may seem to be, it is not the whole truth. The reaction extended into other things, and not only this, but reaction itself explains but a small part of the difficulty. The elements of opposition to Mary, forced to take refuge abroad, had there become profoundly modified, while their fundamental hatred for the principles of the government which had exiled them became stronger and more bitter. It is therefore among those who fled for their lives on the accession of Mary that we

must look for the germs of those characteristics which serve to distinguish the reign of Elizabeth.

If we ask what were those features which chiefly strike us in the England of Elizabeth, and which we do not find under her predecessors, it seems that they may be classified under three heads. Of these perhaps the most important is the settlement of the Church effected by the queen herself. Elizabeth was determined to enforce outward uniformity in religion, and, whatever else she had in view, this was her chief aim. But the mere fact of defining the limits of the Established Church, shut many men, who had strong opinions of their own, outside its pale. A large number of Roman Catholics refused to acknowledge the queen as Supreme Head of the Church, and continued to look to the Pope as their spiritual chief. On the other hand, many Protestants did not think the reformation in England had been carried far enough, wished for more simplicity in the forms of worship, and denounced the new Church as an unholy compromise with the Papists.

Of hardly less consequence in the annals of the reign is the sudden appearance of the peculiar but effective maritime activity of those licensed rovers and freebooters—the sea-dogs whose activity culminated gloriously in the irregular running fight in the Channel known as the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Finally, to complete the period, as it were, to hand on its life and colour to posterity, we have the great literary movement, including among its worthies such giants as Spenser, Bacon, and Shakespeare.

But in the midst of these various manifestations of national energy were sentiments pervading them all which gave unity to them and strength to the country. Although Roman Catholics and Puritans might seem to be in opposition to the laws, because they would not accept the Establishment; although the sea-dogs might appear to be no better than lawless pirates, obnoxious to all governments; and although

great literary activity is generally a sign of great liberty, if not licence, of thought, joined with an impatience of control; yet, in spite of the union of all these sentiments ordinarily so hostile to sovereignty, we find no outburst of rebellion, and no hatred of the government. On the contrary, the one sentiment that animated all Englishmen in those days, irrespective of creed or calling, was an intense love for their country, and a profound loyalty for their queen. A Puritan bishop, enjoined to carry out customs distasteful to him, grumbled but obeyed; a pirate, scolded for his excesses, and denounced to his enemies, found the means to force the hand of the Queen and aid her in spite of herself; and a zealous pamphleteer, mutilated for writing too freely, could cry out "God save the Queen" immediately after the execution of the sentence. In the higher literature of the time the passionate feeling of patriotism finds expression, joined with a proud feeling of independence and power, of which many examples might be quoted from Shakespeare—

> "Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them: None shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true."

Of the three features which I have ventured to indicate as characteristic of the reign of Elizabeth, the literary movement is so completely a child of the time, and at once its expression and outcome, that it may be dismissed very summarily.

It would appear as if in England, contrary to that which had happened elsewhere, the Reform preceded the Renaissance. The wonderful outburst of wit in the reign of Elizabeth was due to a wise and prosperous government, which though not unmolested by serious difficulties, won additional lustre from having successfully encountered them. In other countries the rulers had usually taken up letters with eagerness only to be the more embittered against the reform which operated in spite of them, and most frequently against their interests. In England the Reform had been taken up by the sovereign, and

carried through with a careful regard at least for legal forms and observances. The Renaissance therefore proceeded like the kindred and stronger movement, and, with such legal and regular traditions, it was natural that it should be loyal and patriotic.

For the other and more important features of the reign it is necessary to seek an explanation in events which took place during the reign of Mary.

CHAPTER II.

THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFORT.

When Edward VI. died the religious question was far from being settled. Throughout his reign the Protestants had shown great activity, they had endeavoured to fit the creed of the nation to the bed of their own dogmas, and they had provided their new Church with a definite belief and ceremonial. But their position was a precarious one. They formed but a small minority in a nation in the main hostile to innovation, and they owed their power solely to the support of the government. Their isolation must have served to keep them outwardly united; but even the pressure of opposition could not altogether disguise the fact that the Reformers were divided among themselves, and even before the accession of Mary serious disputes had arisen on the question of ceremonial observances. On the Continent the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingle all differed considerably, and by the compilation of the Prayer-book yet another system, differing from each of the others, was established.

From very early times the Universities had become the centres of the reforming movement. It was there that the chief reformers were stationed, and there they lodged and entertained those foreigners who assisted them in establishing the new doctrines in England.

At Oxford the chief of the English reformers was the Dean of Christ Church, one Dr. Richard Cox, who for six

years (1547–1552) had been Chancellor of the University. During his term of office he had shown unbounded zeal in the destruction of everything that seemed to savour of popery. So great, indeed, was his activity, that the wits of the time, making a slight alteration in his title, dubbed him the "Cancellor." His work, however, had by no means been entirely destructive. He had taken a more prominent part in the work of reconstruction than many of the Reformers, and had been a leading member of the Commissions which had drawn up and revised the English Prayer-book in 1548 and 1552.

Round the Dean of Christ Church were gathered many men of similar faith and opinions—Dr. Lawrence Humphrey of Magdalen College, Thomas Bentham of Magdalen, Christopher Goodman of Brasenose, Jewel and Cole of Corpus, together with many others of less importance and notoriety.

At the sister University of Cambridge the Reformation movement had gone even further, and amongst the prominent Protestants resident there we may notice Gilby, Lever, Pilkington, and Percival Wiburne, who afterwards made a reputation for themselves as sturdy Puritans.

It may well be imagined that the accession of Mary was viewed with the greatest consternation by the little knot of Reformers. The daughter of Catherine of Aragon was known to be an ardent Catholic, and her antipathy to the new doctrines had been increased by an unworthy persecution she had suffered during the reign of her brother. The hopes of a Protestant government under Queen Jane were finally dissipated by July, 1553, and the Reformers, who could expect no favour from the triumphant queen, could only hope that they might be allowed to rest unmolested. At first, indeed, it seemed as if they would not be deceived. Mary, holding her rival and principal supporters safely locked up in the Tower, thought it none the less advisable to make some attempt to conciliate and appease the agitated minds of her subjects. On the 18th of August she issued a proclamation declaring that she would

molest no one for religion "until such time as a further order, by common consent, might be taken therein."

More than this the Reformers could not possibly expect; but the appearance was delusive, and the Queen did not keep her promise. Only two days after the above-mentioned proclamation Gardiner was directed to enforce the observance of the statutes in the University of Cambridge, while Sir John Mansone received a similar commission for Oxford. The Bishop of Winchester, spurred by the memory of his wrongs, was likely to execute this mandate in no sparing manner, while his colleague would undoubtedly follow his example in the sister University. But Gardiner did not leave Oxford to the tender mercies of Mansone, and before long he presented himself at Magdalen College for the purpose of ejecting thence its heretical head and fellows. Even worse was to follow. In September the hand of the queen was laid upon the bishops, who were deprived, and many of them cast into prison. The same fate awaited the sturdy Dean of Christ Church. Already those who could fled the country, and by November William Whittingham, one of the Oxford Protestants, had safely crossed to France. From this time onwards the stream of exiles continued to flow, and as no particular precautions were taken to stop them, their number must have been considerable, reaching, according to Burnet's estimate, from eight hundred to a thousand souls. This can hardly be an exaggeration, for the number of churches founded by them on the Continent was far from inconsiderable. With the Englishmen thus banished from their country were to be seen those foreigners who had rendered such notable assistance towards the foundation of the reformed Church in England, and they must have considered that a happy chance which decided the government to expel them from the kingdom rather than detain them in it for the purpose of persecuting them.

In the choice of a place of refuge, the exiles must have experienced much embarrassment. Most of them crossed to

France, as being the country nearest to our shores. But France could offer them no home. Her king, Henry II., was a Catholic of the Catholics, noted above all for his zeal for religion, and his detestation of the Protestants. Fortunately the Empire was likely to prove more hospitable. By his victory over the Schmalkalde League in 1547 it had indeed seemed as if the Emperor Charles V. had finally subdued Protestantism. But the sudden *volte face* of Maurice of Saxony not only completely destroyed the fruits of this success, but won for the Protestants a position in the Empire which they had not enjoyed up to that time. At the moment when the English exiles were seeking a home, the temporary Peace of Passau had already been concluded, while negotiations for a more permanent settlement had already begun. The most important result of this state of affairs was that the Protestant states of Germany were left free in the exercise of their religion. Of these states, the English exiles preferred those lying along the Rhine, such cities as Wesel, Frankfort, Strasburg, and Basle, which had already offered their hospitality to those French Protestants who had fled from the persecutions of their sovereigns.

Besides these homes of refuge, there were many places in Switzerland which enjoyed a notable reputation in the history of Protestantism. Of these the most important was undoubtedly Geneva, a city completely transformed by the government of Calvin, and which might well be considered the metropolis of the reformed religion. Hardly less than Geneva, Zurich had played a prominent part in the development of Protestantism, and under Zwingle its inhabitants had endeavoured to set up a system of their own. Though this effort had ended in failure, yet the city remained steadily faithful to the new doctrines. In 1554 it offered peculiar attractions to the exiled Englishmen, on account of the presence of Bullinger, who had chosen Zurich as his home.

Such were the principal cities in which the exiles established their settlements in the winter of 1553–1554. Their position

cannot have been a very enviable one. Most of them were ecclesiastics, whose chief source of revenue was the benefice which they held. When this had been taken from them they were left almost destitute. Even those who possessed private means, were hardly more fortunate, especially those whose property was in land. The home government, which had not made any very great efforts to prevent the emigration, showed itself exceedingly hostile to the exiles, whom it suspected of treason against itself, and it did its utmost to prevent any supplies being sent to them by their friends and sympathizers in England. Gardiner, who had suffered persecution at their hands, showed himself inexorable towards them, and swore that they should eat the tips off their fingers for very hunger.

Happily for the exiles none of them were reduced to such straits. In the majority of the cities to which they went they were well received by the authorities, although it is true that a congregation established at Wesel under the care of Miles Coverdale, was expelled by the Lutheran magistrates because of their Calvinist sympathies. In spite of the vigilance of the Queen's government supplies were regularly sent from England to the wanderers, and the London merchants contrived to convey money to them by making arrangements through their letters of exchange. Rich Englishmen among the exiles themselves readily shared their excess of wealth with their less fortunate countrymen, and one Richard Chambers, about whom we shall have more to say later on, particularly distinguished himself by his liberality, and to Jewel he is said to have made a regular allowance. Many of the exiles eked out their means by literary work, and several pamphlets were produced by them. Others again increased their incomes by teaching, and at Zurich Peter Martyr established a school, with Jewel for his assistant.

Evidently, therefore, the English exiles in the cities of the Rhine and Switzerland had much for which they should have been thankful, and they might well have lived in contentment and happiness in the state in which they found themselves

placed. Unfortunately they but imperfectly realized how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to live together in unity. Before long began those disgraceful and unnecessary quarrels among them which, but for their important bearing on subsequent events, we might wish to be forgotten and erased from the pages of history.

Towards the end of June, 1554, William Whittingham, having passed through France, arrived at the ancient and renowned city of Frankfort on Main with a few friends. His coming seems to have been immediately communicated to the colony of French refugees established in the place, for the same night the Pastor of the Huguenot Church, one Valeran Pullan, called upon the Englishmen in their lodgings, and told them that he had already made preparations for their reception, and that all Englishmen who fled from England for the sake of religion might enter the French Church. To these overtures Whittingham responded somewhat ungraciously that, as hardly any of their number understood French, this would be of but little service to them. After some discussion, however, a memorial was drawn up and sent to the magistrates, asking them to grant an asylum to all the English who might come to Frankfort, it being understood that they should have the permission to found a Church of their own.

As one of the most important of the free cities of Germany Frankfort appears to have enjoyed a liberal and enlightened government in the sixteenth century. The magistrates, of whom the chief was one John Glauberg, made no difficulty in granting the request of the English exiles, and gave the required permission after an interval of no more than three days. They were to share the same Church as the French exiles, and to have the use of it on alternate days, while on Sundays special hours were set apart for the rites of each community. One condition only was exacted, and that rather from a desire to prevent confusion than to impose any religious test—it was that the English should conform to the French

doctrines and ceremonies, except in such cases where the French themselves might think fit to allow them some liberty of choice. As a matter of fact this proviso did not exercise the least restriction upon the intentions of the English. Indeed the vague terms of the decision, the difference of language, and the indifference of the French made this inevitable. Throughout the history of the English Church at Frankfort we hardly find any further mention of the Huguenots, and when Valeran Pullan again appears upon the scene, it is as a peacemaker between the contending English factions that he acts, and not in any way as a dictator of forms and ceremonies.

For the moment, however, the condition imposed by the magistrates and the inclinations of Whittingham combined to form the character of the new Church about to be established. Practically all the French Protestants were Calvinists, and of a very orthodox type, and it was to this pure Continental communion rather than to the English modification that Whittingham leaned. At the same time, in formulating a discipline for the New Church, it was decided to take the Prayer-book of 1552 as a basis, though all agreed that some modifications were necessary. When, however, the commission appointed for the purpose set to work to draw up the new order, and to make the proposed alterations in the English Book, it speedily became apparent that the "modification" would be so considerable that but little of the original dispositions would remain unaltered. The Anglican service was completely changed, and an order of worship substituted very closely resembling that adopted in French Calvinistic Churches to-day, and therefore in all probability imitated from the usages of the existing Huguenot congregation at Frankfort. But, in addition, other alterations and excisions were made. The Litany and Responses were entirely cut out, vestments altogether abolished, and the Confession was altered "to suit the place and time." In plain English the Edwardian

Prayer-book and its dispositions had been put aside at Frankfort to make way for a system altogether Calvinistic both in form and spirit.

We do not know whether the new order received the complete assent of all the English Protestants assembled in Frankfort at that moment; but in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we may assume that this was the case. Even if there were some who disagreed with the changes that had been made, they did not, apparently, think it worth while to object openly, and on the 29th of July, or little more than a month after the arrival of Whittingham, the exiles chose a Minister and Deacons to govern them, and entered their new Church with great rejoicings.

So far all had gone well. The generosity of the magistrates of the town, and the friendliness and complaisance of the French community, had made the way singularly easy for the exiles, and removed all difficulties from their path. If they had only been content to remain as they were, and let well alone, they might have continued to live peacefully in the enjoyment of a lot far happier than is the share of most exiles.

Unfortunately for their own peace, they did not rest contented. They conceived the project of inviting all the English abroad to come and live together with them, and so form a united community. The idea would have been an excellent one if only all the exiles had been of the same way of thinking. The possibility that many of their countrymen might object to their very free treatment of the Edwardian order never seems to have entered the heads of the rulers of the Frankfort Church. The difficulty of amalgamation was still further increased by a provision in the new order, which laid down that every member of the Church should sign its discipline. To an observer of to-day this blindness of Whittingham and his followers to the real difficulties of the situation is so singular as to be incredible. It would almost seem as if the

letter sent from Frankfort to the other cities was intended as a cartel of defiance. There is not, however, the smallest reason for supposing that it was either sent or received in this spirit. The actual truth which explains this peculiar situation is this, that the English Reformers had not yet fully realized the very considerable differences that separated them from one another. So far as we can judge at such a distance of time they seem to have but little suspected upon what a fierce and lengthy contest they were about to enter.

That the alterations made at Frankfort in the English Liturgy were not agreeable to a large section of their countrymen was speedily brought home to Whittingham and his fellows. The circular letter they proposed to address to the various English settlements on the Continent was duly drawn up and sent. In it the English of the exile were informed of the large privileges so generously offered to them by the magistrates of Frankfort, and afterwards invited to speedily come and enjoy them, and so form one united Church in the land of their affliction.

Among the English settlements already formed at this period, the most important were at Strasburg and Zurich. Here were congregated men of a moderate cast of thought, who while sincere Protestants still clung tenaciously to many of the ancient prayers and usages of the Catholic Church, and who accepted without reserve the compromise effected by the Prayer-book of 1552. To such men the measures taken by the Frankfort congregation appeared wild and revolutionary, subversive of all that decency and order enjoined by the Apostle. In this frame of mind, they were not likely to receive with much cordiality the invitation sent to them, for it was at the same time to ask them to approve of acts which excited in them nothing but feelings of repulsion. The men of Zurich, however, who were all very moderate by character, did not openly express their disapproval; they did not even refuse flatly to accept the offer that had been made to them.

For the moment they contented themselves by thanking the Frankfort Church for remembering them, and added that they did not wish to be disturbed in their studies ; if, however, their presence was absolutely needful, they might come. The answer sent from Strasburg was even less satisfactory and reassuring. The invitation was ignored altogether, and without exactly saying so much the congregation seemed to hint that the Frankfort Church was under bad management, and that it needed some person, whose orthodoxy was above suspicion, to govern it, and check the excesses of such reckless enthusiasts as Whittingham. By way of helping their brethren in their choice they suggested the names of four divines, Cox, Ponet, Bale, and Scory, whom they considered to be fit people to discharge such an office.

The congregation at Frankfort cannot have been very delighted at the way in which their fellow-countrymen had received their advances. The message from Zurich, though couched in polite terms, was actually nothing less than a distinct refusal. From Strasburg they barely received ordinary courtesy. The very gratuitous offer to supply them with a head for their Church must have been peculiarly irritating, the more so because of their own motion they had already elected their chiefs. The three men upon whom they had decided to confer this honour were Knox, Lever, and Haddon. It is difficult to see why they should have chosen three men of such widely different character and opinions to act in concert. Knox was the most determined of Calvinists, Lever was a quiet and moderate man, while Haddon had done his utmost to temporize with the Catholics. The only possible explanation of the difficulty seems to be that already given above with regard to the motives that prompted the men of Frankfort to send out their circular letter. Here again we have further evidence of the unconsciousness of the Protestants of the differences that divided them.

The association of these three divines at the head of the

Frankfort Church was never carried out. Lever and Haddon seem to have realized that they were unfitted to cope with Knox, who would be certain to make himself in fact the sole head of a congregation which had already shown its partiality for the ideas that he represented. Haddon altogether refused to come to the city, and though Lever arrived shortly after he exercised very little influence. In fact, Knox was left alone to be sole leader of the Church.

The men of Strasburg, who watched with growing uneasiness and hostility the progress of events at Frankfort, concerted with their countrymen at Zurich the means whereby they might restore the English Order in the recreant Church. From the latter city the wealthy and liberal Richard Chambers was chosen as envoy, while from Strasburg came the learned Grindal.

The two delegates did not attempt to conceal the real objects of their mission. On behalf of the Church at Zurich, Chambers declared that no Englishman would come from that city to Frankfort unless the English Order was established there; Grindal announced that his fellow-countrymen at Strasburg were quite ready to make the journey, and that they intended to help their brethren to set their Church in order, and establish the *régime* of the Prayer-book. Both seem to have directed their attacks chiefly against Knox, who had recently arrived to take the charge which had been offered to him. In him they saw the leader and representative of the pure Calvinist party, the adversary from whom they had most to fear. And they were right. Knox vigorously took up the cudgels in favour of the order arranged for the Frankfort Church, and boldly confronted Grindal and Chambers. The discussion was now actively taken up by the two parties, and the questions in dispute were brought clearly forward. In a discussion held towards the end of November, Grindal declared that his party would be perfectly willing to abandon vestments and other ceremonials as being things of no

importance in themselves, but he declared that the feeling of those he represented required that the substance of the Book should be retained. So vague a statement did not satisfy Knox and his party, and they required a more exact definition of what was meant by the substance of the Book. To this demand Grindal and Chambers would not give a direct answer, and they preferred to answer one question by another. What parts of the Book did Knox and his associates propose to admit? Would they be allowed a separate church? What assurances had been given that they should live unmolested in Frankfort? These questions were answered categorically by the other side. They replied that the magistrates had offered every assurance to the exiles that could possibly be expected, and that Frankfort had thrown open its gates to all Englishmen who might choose to come there. A separate church could not be granted them until some definite settlement of the religious questions of the Empire had been made by the congress then sitting at Augsburg. As for the Prayer-book, such parts should be retained as were in keeping with the Scriptures, and that, in accordance with the condition proposed, were in harmony with the order observed by the French congregation.

It is in the last declaration that we have the first glimpses of the really fundamental questions that divided the exiles into two hostile camps. We have already seen that both sides were ready to give up vestments and ceremonials as being things unimportant in themselves. But while the one party still clung to a great part of the old traditions of the Church, the other contended that all traditions were vain, and threw them over together with the authority of the Pope, relying upon the Scriptures as the sole guide of life and the only manual of religion.

By reason of these fundamental differences, it is clear that the attitude taken up by Knox's party could not commend itself to the Church at Strasburg. Grindal and Chambers

returned thither with their answer at the beginning of December. The English to whom they reported the state of affairs expressed great discontent, and sent once more to the wayward Church in order to say that if the English Book was accepted they would think of coming to Frankfort, otherwise they could not entertain a thought of it. Here the correspondence dropped for the moment, and the men of Strasburg abstained awhile from the attack in order to choose a more favourable moment.

At Frankfort, the mission of Grindal and Chambers does not seem to have been without effect. Their arguments had either gained them some adherents, or roused to action a hitherto silent minority. It is also possible that the arrival from over the seas of fresh comers of more Anglican tendencies had modified the congregation in the interval. Whatever may have happened there can be no doubt that after the departure of the envoys of Zurich and Strasburg, no inconsiderable portion of the Frankfort Church leaned towards the adoption of the English Prayer-book. This section found a leader in Lever, one of the three originally selected to govern the Church, who arrived about this time.

The Calvinistic majority in the Church had just carried a resolution establishing the Book of Geneva. The new-comer acted with great prudence and moderation. He did not approve of the Order just established, but he would not begin by openly attacking it. He accordingly asked for an interval for deliberation, and this he obtained. Apparently his moderation gained him many followers in the Church, for evidently Knox and Whittingham feared his influence. In the "Troubles of Frankfort" Whittingham declares that Lever intended to set up an order of his own, but from his action he betrayed his anxiety lest the new-comer should declare himself entirely for the Prayer-book. It is therefore almost certain that, feeling their authority and influence to be tottering, Knox and Whittingham resolved to obtain from Calvin a

decisive opinion upon the merits and demerits of the English Order. Accordingly they drew up a *résumé* of the Book, sent it to the veteran Reformer at Geneva, and asked for his judgment upon it.

The answer, as they must have anticipated, proved almost unreservedly favourable to their party. After a few preliminary remarks, scolding both sides for their unseemly quarrel, Calvin went on to say that the English liturgy lacked the *purity* that was desirable. This defect might be tolerated for a season, but the time had now come to set forth something *purer*. The liturgy contained many things that were rather foolish (*tolerabiles ineptias*), and these it would be as well to abolish. At the same time, he exhorted the more advanced party not to be too fierce against those who would not rise higher; while the others were warned not to pride themselves too much in their foolishness.

This remarkable letter marks an important epoch in the history of sects in England. The Anglican Calvinists are here first treated as being in opposition to their Continental model, and the separation is enunciated by Calvin himself. The recurrence of the words "pure" and "purity" in the letter indicate the grounds of the difference, and we here have the first whisper of that sound which was at no distant epoch to take definite shape in the word "Puritan."

The judgment of Calvin exercised upon the minds of the Frankfort congregation all the effects which had been desired by those who had provoked it. "It so wrought in the hearts of many," writes Whittingham, "that they were not before so stout to maintain all the points of the Book of England, as afterward they were bent against it." The victory of the Puritan party was complete, and though the contest was hot, they carried the day all along the line. Knox himself, Whittingham, Gilby, Cole, and Fox, all pronounced Calvinists, were elected to draw up a new order for the Church.

From a body so constituted but one decision could possibly

be anticipated, and it can only be regarded as the natural sequence to their election that they almost immediately decided to conform in all questions to the Book of Geneva.

Victory had rested with the Calvinists, but their success was not so complete as it seemed, and it had been greatly compromised by the extreme measures they had thought fit to adopt. The Anglican party, although a minority, still remained strong and influential, for they had behind them the moral support of the Churches of Strasburg and Zurich. It was plain that this party would never consent to accept the pure and undiluted Calvinism of Geneva. The quarrel, so far from being settled, grew fiercer than ever. The sad spectacle of Christian brethren engaging in so unseemly a struggle filled all good men with shame and pain. At last Gilby, himself one of the five who had voted for the Genevan Order, besought his countrymen, with tears in his eyes, to reform their judgment and seek some compromise which would satisfy both parties. This counsel being forthwith adopted, the struggle suddenly ceased, and four men being appointed, Knox and Whittingham for the Calvinists, and Lever and Parry for the Anglicans, a new and satisfactory order was speedily prepared for adoption by the Church.

As in the former instance, the English Prayer-book formed the basis of this new discipline, but several alterations, excisions, and additions were made. What its exact nature may have been cannot be known, but it probably differed but little from the arrangement described above. "The Troubles of Frankfort" give us no direct information upon this point, and all we know for certain is that vestments, the litany, and audible responses were by common consent abandoned.

The new order was drawn up in writing by the 6th of February, when all the members of the Church signed it. So happy a reconciliation after so hot a debate could not fail to gladden the hearts of all the members of the Frankfort congregation, whatever their opinions might be. All felt that this

was a special occasion for rejoicing. A public service was held in the Church, and thanks were given to God for appeasing these unhappy disputes, and at its close the members lovingly joined to celebrate the Communion.

Alas that this concord was destined to be of so short duration! The rejoicing was unfortunately premature, and those who then joined to celebrate the most solemn rite of the Christian Church were destined at no distant date to engage in a conflict even more embittered than the first.

At best the compromise made was only a temporary arrangement to last until the end of the following April, or rather less than three months; and if any disputes arose in the mean time they were to be referred to the arbitration of Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret—a fairly representative quintette of foreign divines. The necessity for such a regulation shows at once the inquietude of its authors and the slender foundation upon which the peace of the Church rested. This time it was destined to be disturbed from without.

The Anglican party at Strasburg had not accepted their defeat and the dismissal of their envoys as final, but still looked forward to the time when the wayward congregation of Frankfort would accept unreservedly the Prayer-book of 1552, to which they themselves clung so tenaciously. They had probably hoped that something would be done by Lever, and must have felt bitterly disappointed when they heard that he had consented to treat with the dissidents, and had even come to an arrangement. At this moment of dismay and reverse there appeared in their midst the very man of whom they had need.

Dr. Richard Cox, after having suffered much persecution in England, had at last escaped from the Marshalsea in which he had been confined. He lost no time in flying from a country where he must risk so many dangers, and where his life was not safe. He arrived in Germany early in the year 1555, and very opportunely for the Anglican party.

As one of the commission which had drawn up the Prayer-book, he naturally was a firm defender of the work which he had done so much to compile. He must have known perfectly well all the arguments for and against the Liturgy, and his opinions had long before been formed and fixed. The doings of the congregation at Frankfort, who seemed to have seized the earliest opportunity of disowning what had been prepared with so much pains, must have been in the mouth of every exile when Cox arrived at the banks of the Rhine. The zealous Dean speedily resolved to go to Frankfort and rescue the English Church from the dangers of a schism. At Strasburg he found plenty of his countrymen who were ready to help him to carry out this task. It was a man of his stamp for whom they had been waiting, and they had already proposed his name to the Church at Frankfort as being a person fit to govern them. Under such leadership they might take up the dispute with a light heart, and rely upon Cox's skill and energy for the final victory.

Accordingly, when Cox arrived in Frankfort on the 13th of March, 1555, he was accompanied by a large number of his fellow-countrymen from Strasburg, and even from Zurich, zealous Anglicans like himself, and determined to help him to uproot Calvinism in the Church, and to establish the English Order there in its stead.

However gladly the governors of the Church at Frankfort may have welcomed the arrival of Cox and his companions, they must have felt some anxiety as to the object of their visit, and the presence of the Strasburg contingent must have added to their disquiet. They were not left long in doubt, for Cox was not the man to waste any time over an enterprise he had taken in hand, and he began the attack without delay.

His method was rough, but effective, for it at once precipitated hostilities, while it made any attempt at a compromise all but impossible. At the very first service he attended in the city he created a disturbance by answering aloud after the

minister, and when admonished by one of the seniors for his conduct, he retorted that he would do as he had done in England, and he intended that the Frankfort congregation should have the face of an English Church.

The following Sunday he went even further. One of his party surprised the pulpit, and from that point of vantage read to the astonished congregation the abandoned Litany, while Cox and his following answered aloud. Nothing but the sacredness of the place and the occasion can have prevented a broil on the spot.

Dazed and astounded as they were by the audacity and suddenness of the attack, Knox and his fellows could not submit without retaliating, and though on that eventful Sunday morning they sat and listened in silence, they were none the less determined to answer blow by blow.

The afternoon of the same day Knox occupied the pulpit, and in his discourse declaimed against those who had come and ruthlessly disturbed the peace of his Church. At the same time he made a fierce attack upon the English Prayer-book, which he stigmatized as superstitious, impure, and imperfect. The struggle was now fairly begun. Each party had made its attack upon the tenets of the other, and a series of recriminations was sure to follow. Under their respective leaders both factions stood face to face ready for the contest, and called themselves Coxans and Knoxans respectively after the names of their chiefs. The whole Church was engaged on one side or the other, and no one was too young or too old to take part in the dispute. The situation is thus described by the martyrologist Fox, who was present at the time, and did his utmost to calm the fury of the combatants: "All the young men," he writes, "even such as were but boys, joined in on one side or the other. Nay, those that were old men and divines, that should have promoted peace and concord, added more flame to the fire than the rest." Such was the lamentable condition of the English at Frankfort in the month of March, 1555.

The contest had not proceeded very far when Cox and his party found they could not do very much unless they were admitted as members of the Church. Accordingly the zealous dean demanded this privilege for himself and his followers. The question, however, was hotly contested. The Knoxans feared that if the new-comers were admitted among their number, they would turn the minority in favour of the English Order into a majority, and they protested against this step, which would at once give the victory to their opponents. In support of their opposition they had the clear text of the existing order of their Church, which, as has already been stated, provided that all who joined the community at Frankfort should sign its discipline. As it was perfectly certain that Cox and the other Anglicans would refuse to do so, the Calvinists believed their position to be secure. They did not absolutely refuse to admit their fellow-countrymen, but they said it would be better to postpone that step until the dispute had been definitely settled.

Before this difficulty it seemed probable that all the efforts of the Coxans would fail, and what they would have done I cannot pretend to guess had they not received assistance from a most unexpected quarter. With a moderation and breadth of sympathy very rarely attributed to him, Knox gave out his opinion that the Coxans should be admitted, and his verdict at once decided the matter. What motives decided the fiery Scotch reformer to take this step I cannot say, and it will soon be seen that he was the first to suffer for it. He may have been influenced by the thought that, after all, the men of Frankfort had invited their countrymen to come and join them, and in that case it would be hard indeed if they refused them hospitality when they arrived. But in the absence of any indication whatever to the contrary, we may justly credit Knox with the highest and most conscientious intentions, and indeed throughout the whole of this Frankfort episode he exhibited a moderation in strange contrast with his conduct in other places and at other times.

No sooner had Cox become a member of the Frankfort Church than with rare arrogance and ingratitude he turned upon the man to whom, above all, he owed this benefit, and roundly bade him to meddle no more in the affairs of the congregation that he had been duly elected to govern. But the active dean thought but little of gratitude. The task he had at heart was the establishment of the *régime* of the Prayer-book at Frankfort, and Knox was the greatest obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of this purpose. To get rid of Knox was therefore his chief end and aim, and from this time forward he sought by all the means in his power to drive the Scotchman from the city.

The Knoxans, however, though they had received a grievous check, were still far from being vanquished, and they had yet other resources at their command. As the first to arrive in the city and as the founder of the Church, Whittingham had the ear of the magistrates, who might well regard him as one of the chief men among the English colonists. When, therefore, he applied to them to interfere in the struggle and to enjoin the Coxans to respect the original condition and imitate the discipline of the French Church, they were ready to comply. John Glauberg, who had already played the principal part in granting the use of the Church to the English, accordingly came down for the purpose of settling the matter.

Of the English Prayer-book and of the principal questions in dispute it is not likely that he knew anything. The observance of the French Order was equally a matter of indifference to him. But it was of vital importance to maintain decency and order in the city. Both were endangered by the dispute between the English factions, and to put an end to this as soon as possible was his one aim. To this end, he did not dictate to either party what course they were to pursue, or what discipline they ought to obey, he simply bade them arrange some compromise subject only to the approval of Valeran Pullan, the French pastor.

The members of both parties were perfectly ready to fall in with this arrangement, and Knox and Whittingham for their side were appointed to confer with Cox and Lever, the representatives of the Anglicans. No doubt all men hoped that by this means some compromise would be effected similar to that which had been brought about by Knox, Whittingham, Lever, and Parry only a few weeks before, and this idea seems to be indicated by the fact that the four chosen to settle the matter were the same, except that on the later occasion Cox replaced Parry. Unfortunately, this change made all the difference, and prevented any accommodation from being arrived at. Too much ill-feeling had already been excited to make an amicable settlement easy, and the conference broke up without having effected anything, leaving all the questions in dispute just where they were before.

As three of the men who took part in it have left a more or less complete description of the questions they debated at this meeting, we may, by checking their *ex parte* statements, arrive at a fairly correct idea of what actually took place. Cox at once agreed to abandon private baptisms, the confirmation of children, saints' days, kneeling at Holy Communion, surplices, crosses, and in fact all such ceremonies as he judged to be "not papistical, but by their nature indifferent." Further than this he absolutely refused to go. But the Calvinists were not contented with this, and wished to alter the Services as set down in the Prayer-book. They objected to the Litany and to the Responses, they wished to expunge the *Te Deum*, and they even argued against the public reading of passages from Scripture as an irksome and unprofitable form. But as a general principle they rejected everything that was not found in the Bible; they accepted the Scriptures as their sole guide in life, and rejected the traditions of the Church as the work of Papal superstition.

On these points Cox refused to make any concession whatever, and when Knox proposed changes in the order of Matins,

he simply replied, "I mean to have it" (*Ego volo habere*), and from that position he refused to move. From this deadlock there was evidently no escape, and the conference was broken off abruptly. It seemed as if matters must inevitably drift back to their former state of chaos unless something decisive was done, for neither party by itself appears to have been strong enough to carry off a decisive victory. Fortunately for his side Whittingham still had the ear of the magistrates, and by his representations he contrived to obtain from them an order that the English were to conform to the original stipulation of their settlement, and imitate the French Church both in its doctrine and ceremonies. If this was not done the magistrates threatened to expel the whole colony from their city [March 22].

So decisive an edict seemed to settle the matter definitely. The Order of Geneva had, by the device of Whittingham, triumphed over the Order of England. The Calvinists were victorious; the Anglicans saw nothing but the hard reality of a decisive defeat. Cox had been interrupted in the full tide of his success, and it now seemed as if the whole expedition had been thrown away, the entire campaign proved fruitless. The energetic dean candidly acknowledged that he had been beaten, and, to make the best of a bad matter, he expressed his approval of the Genevan Order, and agreed to submit to it.

If the dispute had rested here, how different our subsequent history might have been! But there were those among the Coxans who did not accept defeat so readily as their chiefs. Of these the moving spirit was one Isaacs. This man realized that the chief thing necessary was to get rid of Knox. Once that had been successfully accomplished it would be far easier to deal with his followers. He therefore called privately upon Knox, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to relent in his animosity towards the English Order. If he would do so, he promised him favour, but if not he threatened him with a mysterious vengeance. To caresses and menaces the undaunted

Reformer had but one reply, "May my name perish," he exclaimed, "so that God's glory and His Book may only be sought among us." But Isaacs had prepared a master stroke that was not only to rout Knox out of the Church, but to assure the immediate success of the Prayer-book party. In a pamphlet entitled "An Admonition to Christian Men," written in Knox's usual and exaggerated style, he had found a series of libels on Mary, Prince Philip, and the emperor. Of the English Queen he had said that "if she had been sent to hell before these days her cruelty would not have so manifestly appeared to the world." She was "false, dissembling, inconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises." "Jezebel never erected half so many gallows in all Israel as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone." As for the emperor, he was "no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero," and his son Philip was involved in his guilt.

Armed with these very damaging proofs against Knox, Isaacs went to consult the chief men of his party upon the steps they should take. Of these the most important were Cox himself, Parry, Bale, and Jewel. They welcomed with delight this means of retaliating upon their victorious adversaries. The Dean of Christ Church reflected that the French Order was perhaps not so admirable, after all, and he eagerly seized upon this opportunity of getting rid of his rival. It was decided to accuse Knox of high treason before the magistrates, and nine articles of accusation were drawn up.

The worthy rulers of Frankfort could not afford to pass this matter over. As members of one of the free cities of the Empire, they enjoyed considerable liberty. But their loyalty might well be suspected, for they had joined the Schmalkalde League, and their city had been besieged and captured by Charles V. The clemency they experienced on that occasion left them grateful and loyal, and remained anxious not to give any further cause of offence. When, therefore, the accusation against Knox was brought before them, they were bound to

deal with the matter, and it was evident that the zealous Reformer would have to suffer for his indiscretion. Fortunately for him, Glauberg and his associates were only too anxious to shield him from harm, and were the very last people to proceed to extremities. But they were none the less desirous to get rid of so dangerous a man as soon as possible, and they informed him that he must at once leave the city. On the 25th of March Knox preached to his adherents in his own lodgings, and endeavoured to cheer their drooping spirits. The following day he left for Geneva, and for three or four miles on his journey he enjoyed the company of some of the most devoted of his friends. The same day the Coxans obtained from the alarmed magistrates the permission to establish the English Order at Frankfort.

The Anglican party had got rid of their adversary, but at what price to themselves! They had brought an accusation against Knox that might have cost that Reformer his head, and at the very least would make it impossible for him to reside in any city of the Empire. This they had done, not from any love towards Mary or Philip, or Charles V., whom they detested as cordially as any one, but simply to gain their own ends. They might well protest that the Book of Knox had embittered the persecution in England, the very energy of their protestations proves the uneasiness of their consciences upon what they had done, and accuses them of having done wrong, even if their end had been a good one. They had done only too much to merit the fiery and indignant recriminations of Knox. "Seeking to their old shot anchor," wrote the Reformer, "they cried out against me, 'He is not Cæsar's friend,' the which dart the devil doth ever shoot by the craft of the priests against the true preachers. But when neither doctrine nor life can be reproved in Christ and his saints, yet this serves at all assays. Though they love not the Emperor no more than did the old Pharisees, for hatred of their brethren they can find such cautels."

But Cox had successfully rid himself of the most formidable of his opponents, and he imagined that from this moment he would have but little difficulty in inducing Whittingham and the rest of the party to accept the English Prayer-book. At first all went well with him. The magistrates, in thorough alarm, made further concessions to him than they might otherwise have accorded, and they not only authorized the complete establishment of the English Order at Frankfort, but even went so far as to enjoin Whittingham and his party to submit to it. It was of no use for the unhappy Knoxans to appeal to the authorities and remind them of their former order. Irritated by the unseemly and unreasonable squabbles of the English, which threatened to compromise their hosts, Glauberg replied with some humour that he was informed that both parties were fully agreed and contented, and so dismissed the envoys to their lodgings. In an interview with Whittingham Glauberg coaxed him to be contented, and promised that he would protect his party from any intolerable oppression.

But the Knoxans, who now took the name of the "Oppressed Congregation," were not inclined to accept the English Book, and certainly Cox did not make submission easy for them.

Thanks to the device of Isaacs, the Dean of Christ Church found himself without a rival, the undoubted head of the Church at Frankfort, and free to carry his ideas into practise. Knox had already declared that the struggle was one of the priests against the preachers, and Cox betrayed his sacerdotalism by the measures he took for the reorganization of the Church he ruled. In a meeting called for the purpose of electing a new head, only those who had been priests and ministers in England were allowed to vote; and for the selection of the elders and deacons, only those who had signed the articles of religion lately set forth by Edward VI. had a voice. Christopher Goodman alone objected on behalf of the opposition. They ought first, he contended, to agree upon some

order for the Church, with the consent of the congregation; and they should not proceed to the election of officers without the consent of the whole body of the Church. Both of Goodman's points were defeated. The English Order, it was asserted, had been already agreed upon, for the decree of the magistrates had settled that question. As for permitting everybody to vote in the elections, the idea could not be entertained for one moment, "for what kind of election," they said, "could be expected, if the voters were not previously agreed as to doctrine?"

From their action at this time it appears as if the Prayer-book party were not quite sure of their majority. They therefore thought it necessary to exclude some of the lay members from voting. This device gave them the majority for the time being, but failed to assure the permanent peace of the Church they sought to settle, and left the way open for the disputes and troubles that followed. But of this I shall have occasion to speak further on.

In the pursuit of their end the majority altogether ignored the existence of the previous Church at Frankfort, and paid no heed to the clause in the discipline of the 6th of February, that referred to Calvin and four others to arbitrate in case of dispute. The English Order was established without any appeal to the congregation, and possibly against the wishes of the majority simply at the wish of those who had come latest to Frankfort, and who intended to leave as soon as they had accomplished the object of their mission. They might, however, claim to be technically in the right, for they had the order of the magistrates in favour of the English service. Those who had come with Cox might object that they at least had had no part in the compromise of the preceding February, and that in entering the Church they had made no promise to submit to the discipline then in force. But they were not altogether easy in their minds, and they thought it necessary to write to Calvin to justify their action, and to endeavour to

enlist the sympathies of the great Reformer on their side. This they signally failed to do, however, for though the reply from Geneva is studiously moderate in its tone, it is not difficult to perceive that Calvin disapproved of their doings from beginning to end. At the same time it is only fair to add that, at the moment the letter was written, Whittingham was in Geneva, and had certainly detailed to Calvin his version of the story. But in any case the French Reformer's verdict would probably have been the same, and it is curious that the Anglican party thought it worth while to refer to him. The action of the latter only shows that they continued to regard themselves as Calvinists, and that they considered that the English Church had been founded and formed on the Continental model.

Whittingham and his companions having failed to move the magistrates in their favour, and clearly perceiving that their efforts in opposition would be fruitless, resolved to depart from Frankfort, for they were determined not to subscribe to the Prayer-book. Cox, however, did not wish them to go; that was the very last thing he desired, and it formed no part of his plans. What he wanted to do when he came to Frankfort, was to put an end to the threatened schism among the English Protestants. If Whittingham and his followers were allowed to go to some other city, and there found a new church on their own plan, this end could not be attained, and the situation would be rather worse, if anything, than it had been before. Cox therefore did his utmost to detain the "oppressed congregation" in the city. He appealed to the magistrate, he tried force, and finally he had recourse to persuasion; but as he flatly refused to put the matter in the hands of the arbitrators, all attempts at accommodation were manifestly futile, and nothing remained but to let them go. A general meeting was held on the last day of April in order to see if an arbitration could be arranged. Cox, however, interfered, and said that they should have none, and if they wanted a

remedy let them go and seek it where they liked. Whittingham, Fox, Cole, and others, were then summoned and asked to give the reasons for their resolution to depart. This gave the Calvinist leaders the opportunity for a recital of their grievances. This they did at some length, beginning with the disorderly manner in which Cox and the others had thrust themselves into the Church, and going on to the displacement of the former officers of the Church, without any cause being shown, and the establishment of Popish superstition and unprofitable ceremonies. It goes without saying that they did not forget to mention the accusation of treason that had driven Knox from their midst. This list of grievances led at once to recrimination, and the dispute waxed hot ; the words "papistical" and "schismatic" being freely thrown about.

In this spirit of anger, the oppressed congregation departed from Frankfort, leaving Cox to make what use he wished of his success.

An asylum was offered to the Calvinists at Basle, and thither many of them repaired. But, having received the offer of a church at Geneva, Whittingham, Williams, Gilby, Goodman, Sir Francis Knollys, and others, departed for that city, preferring to enjoy the pure atmosphere of Calvinism, and free association with its illustrious founder.

At Frankfort, where Cox was left in undisputed possession, the settlement of the Church was rapidly carried out, upon the same principles that had been already announced. Whitehead was appointed to be the pastor, and a new Book of Discipline was drawn up. This system seems to have been singularly deficient in some important matters, and to have ill-defined the duties of pastor, elders, and deacons, and their relations towards, and power over the congregation. So far as the definition of the duties of the rulers of the Church went, they were as follows : the pastor was to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to superintend the morals of his congregation. The elders were to occupy the position of censors and overseers

of manners, with the powers of punishing disorders. Finally the duty of the deacons consisted in providing for the poor, and in visiting the sick. The whole system resembles to a singular degree the government of Geneva under Calvin, and the latter probably formed the model from which the former was drawn up. This persistent recourse of the Coxans to Calvin and to Calvin's ideas shows that in spite of the recent events the leaders of the Church at Frankfort had very strong Calvinistic leanings, and further, that they considered themselves to be Calvinists.

In order that his congregation might not incur the reproach of idleness or ignorance, while their countrymen in other cities were actively at work, Cox established a University at Frankfort to promote the study of theology. In this college Horne became lecturer in Hebrew, Mullings occupied the Greek chair, and Treherrn was reader in Divinity. It may very reasonably be doubted if any serious work was performed by this body. The great struggle that began only a few weeks later must in any case have interrupted the students as well as their professors, and in all probability the lectures and work ceased altogether.

Having completed these final arrangements, and considering that there remained nothing more for him to do, Cox handed over the care of the Church to Whitehead, and departed to Zurich. At the same time the great majority of those who had accompanied him and helped him to carry out his plan retired respectively to Strasburg and Zurich, the places from which they had started. It seems indeed strange, after the pains they had been at to reform the Church at Frankfort, that they should not have thought it worth their while to have remained there, particularly as they had on their arrival especially insisted upon becoming members of the congregation. Upon these considerations they seem to have exposed themselves to charges of lightness, and even of spitefulness towards their brethren, and a few years later Whittingham said of them

that to some of these persecutors the time of exile was a pleasant progress or recreation.

If success is a justification, however, Cox would obtain a triumphant acquittal from the accusations of his enemies. Although he had failed to stamp out the schism among his countrymen, and though his efforts to induce them to conform had been vain, at Frankfort his triumph had been complete, and as far as that city was concerned he had in six months accomplished all that he had come to perform. Knox, Whittingham, the very magistrates of the town themselves, had been alike obliged to bow before his conquering arm, and he left behind him a Church established and administered after his own heart.

Viewed from other standpoints, higher and more just, his actions cannot possibly appear in so favourable a light. He had shown himself high-handed, ungrateful, and uncompromising. At a time when their common misfortune should have made the exiles at one with each other, Cox stands forth with unenviable distinction as the man above all others who devoted his energies to setting his countrymen by the ears. He had forced himself upon the unoffending congregation at Frankfort, driven their pastor from the city, and their elders from their posts. Without consulting their opinion, he had introduced a system of discipline that might or might not agree with their inclinations ; and, when all was done, he had departed with his troop to other places.

In estimating Cox's conduct, it would be manifestly unfair to judge him after the standards of modern toleration. Much must be allowed to his fiery zeal for the system of doctrine he had himself helped to draw up, as well as to his anxiety to prevent a schism. It is in the face of such considerations that we may excuse the brutality with which he broke in upon the quiet of a peaceful congregation ; the peremptory way in which he put aside the existing officers and discipline, and even the uncompromising harshness with which he refused to refer to

arbitration. But when all that can be advanced in his favour on these subjects has been pleaded, what shall be said for his treatment of Knox? What age has not condemned ingratitude? From the Scotch Reformer he had received more consideration than he had any right to expect. To his decision he owed the admission of himself and his party into the Church at Frankfort, by which alone he could hope to exert any influence over that body. In return for this kindness and courtesy he offered no thanks, but brought forward instead a malignant accusation, which for aught he knew might have resulted in the condemnation of Knox to a painful and ignominious death, and which, in any case, could not fail to make his sojourn on the Continent exceedingly difficult.

If this action had been prompted by loyalty, it would still be possible for us to entertain some respect for Cox, but this excuse was never pleaded by his apologist, and indeed it cannot for one moment stand the process of criticism. The one argument advanced in his favour is that Knox's book had aggravated persecution in England. But of this assertion there is not the slightest proof, and, even if it were true, the proscription of Knox on the Continent would not have made any difference.

It is but too clear that, in taking this step, Cox was influenced by only one idea. To drive Knox from Frankfort was his sole end and aim, and to accomplish this he was ready to go to any lengths, utterly reckless of the evil consequences that might follow.

So far as actual results go, Cox had aggravated rather than appeased the schism that he so much feared. The separation that he effected was destined to last many years. It was he who struck the first blow, which, followed by many others, separated from the body of the Church that great party which, under the name of Puritan, rose into eminence during the reign of Elizabeth, which revolted with terrible wrath against unprincipled tyranny, which conquered at Marston Moor, Naseby, and

Worcester, which, in the person of Cromwell, attained a commanding position among the powers of Europe, and which, while in England it fell defeated and discredited at the Restoration, was at that very time laying the foundations of a mighty nation in the New World. It is, therefore, as an anticipation of the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, of the Clarendon Code, and of the numerous other devices designed to hedge round and define the boundaries of the English Church, that Cox's action is of importance, and the part he played in the formation of the body of the Puritans was no small one. Before the time of the exile, that party had hardly, if at all, realized that it held views differing from those of the other English Protestants. The initial difficulties at Frankfort and the opposition of the Churches at Frankfort had served to bring these differences to light. It was not until the final quarrel with Cox, however, that these difficulties were considered as insurmountable, and that it became clear that no accommodation could be effected. When Whittingham and his companions set out with angry protestations from Frankfort, the Puritan party had been formed, its tenets and dogmas had been defined, disputed, and defended, and it had even acquired the name it was so soon to make famous, and which would, in the succeeding century, resound with the clang of arms throughout civilized Europe.

Retiring defeated from the preliminary skirmish at Frankfort, the Puritans recognized that the struggle had only just begun, and that it would be necessary to prepare for a conflict upon a much wider scale, and with far more formidable adversaries. They realized that the time of their exile could not be for them a time of refreshment and repose, of pleasant journeys and quiet recreation. The battle was at hand, and it behoved them to be ready for it, to prepare and sharpen their weapons in order to meet the foe when occasion should arise.

It was in the Church at Geneva that this work was carried out. On the 13th of October, 1555, a party of the exiles from Frankfort arrived in that city, some forty-eight souls in all, and founded

a Church there. In the absence of Knox, for whom they all continued to have an affectionate regard, Goodman and Gilby were elected to act as their ministers. This little Church, so slender in numbers, came at once to be recognized as the centre and home of the Puritan exiles. From the day of its foundation its numbers were continually being increased by fresh arrivals of Englishmen, seeking a congenial home for themselves and their families during this unhappy time of exile. Thither came, among others, Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, with Dr. Sampson, his dean; Scory, Bishop of Rochester; Bentham, of Magdalen College; and Cole, of Corpus; Kethe, the hymn-writer; Percival Wiburne, one of the most sturdy of the Non-conformists; and Thomas Bodley, then a mere lad, but destined to perpetuate his memory in the magnificent library at Oxford that bears his name.

The Genevan Church was formed of men of a very great strength of character, possessed by very strong opinions, which they were prepared to zealously defend. Of all the churches founded abroad by the English at this time, this was the one in which the greatest amount of work was done, and where the individual members laboured the most. It alone produced works of permanent importance destined long to survive the temporary and passing conditions which had called them into being.

In their controversy with the Anglican party at Frankfort the Puritans had always in the last resort taken their stand at the same point. For them there was but one touchstone in matters of religion, and that touchstone was the Bible. In the endless discussions upon forms and ceremonies to be observed, they demanded but one thing: could they be justified out of the Bible? If so, well and good; if not they must be rejected as Popish superstition, worthless tradition that had been introduced into a corrupted Church. This was the reason that led them to reject so much of the Prayer-book, in the compilation of which its authors had retained many of the old prayers and

hymns they had learned to love and revere so well. But the Puritans would suffer none of this. The retention of saints' days, the *Te Deum*, and other hymns, and many of the other forms of prayer, were not to be found in the infallible Book, and they put them coldly aside, not only as unchristian, but as absolutely pernicious.

With this exaggerated opinion of the value of the Scriptures it was not unnatural that they should wish to have a version of their own, to be at once the guide of their conduct and the expression of their religious opinions. The existing versions all left much to be desired from their point of view. The principal were those of Cranmer and Coverdale. The former, however, was little more than a re-issue of the latter. These early editions, moreover, were too unwieldy, and exceedingly expensive. But a book of so much importance as the Bible must be easily accessible to all, and it was therefore imperative to provide an edition of a handy size, and cheap enough to be bought by nearly everybody.

A more important defect in their eyes was the absence of explanatory or dogmatic notes. The Puritan, quite as much as the Catholic, held firmly to particular explanations of certain passages of Scripture, and for the correct appreciation and dissemination of his views it was necessary that these should be fully explained.

The Church at Geneva set itself the gigantic task of preparing a version of the Bible in which these defects should be remedied. Although they had Coverdale's translation as a guide, as well as the personal assistance of the translator himself, their enterprise was nevertheless colossal. With incredible energy, however, they dauntlessly set to work, and laboured with extraordinary industry both night and day for over two years. At the end of this time they had successfully accomplished their task. Their translation was immediately printed and given to the world, where it speedily secured a wide popularity under the name of the Geneva, or "Breeches" Bible.

The new version was distinctly controversial in character, and bore everywhere the marks of the peculiar tenets of its authors. For the first time the Apocrypha was excluded from the Bible, and only the canonical books appeared; from the Calendar that precedes the text, all names of saints and saints' days were rigorously struck out. They were replaced by the occasional mention of Scripture facts, or by references to the deaths of the great reformers. But it was in the critical and explanatory notes that the real leanings of the translators were most manifest, though they were often very helpful in explaining the difficulties of Scripture.

A few minor alterations from the model of older translations helped to make the new edition more popular. The old and cumbrous black letter type was definitely abandoned in favour of ordinary Italian characters. The large unwieldy folio was reduced to a more convenient quarto. Finally the division into verses was for the first time adopted.

These numerous advantages gave to the Breeches Bible a wide and lasting popularity. It became the strength and stay of the Puritan party, the great means which enabled them to come triumphantly through the difficult and trying times of the Elizabethan persecution.

To the Puritan family of those days the Bible was not only the guide and controller of life, but it also played an important part in the instruction of the mind. From its religious pre-eminence it came to play a great educational *rôle*. It is impossible to over-estimate its extraordinary influence on the formation of the succeeding generation. From it the Puritans drew all their religious inspiration; in it they found analogies to the great political and ecclesiastical events of their day; after its heroes and heroines they named their children; its phraseology became theirs; it was for them a literary treasure, a library from which they loved to make quotations.

From its activity in so many directions the influence of the Geneva Bible has in all probability never been equalled by

any other version of the Scriptures. Even the beautiful and finished authorized translation of 1611 failed at first to do more than hold its own, and did not win ultimate supremacy until after the lapse of many years. The people felt loth to abandon a treasure that had become so dear to them, and which they had grown up to regard almost as having an authority and an infallibility of its own.

This monumental work of translation was not the only production of the Genevan Church. We have seen that the Puritans rejected the *Te Deum*, and in fact all other hymns not found in the Scriptures. But their severity in this respect left them face to face with a difficulty, for some sort of singing was necessary for their services. In the Scriptures they had indeed the Psalms, but from a musical point of view they were not easy to deal with, and at best could only be chanted. It was with the intention, therefore, of meeting this difficulty that some of the members of the Genevan Church, who had a turn for poetry, undertook to render the whole of these ancient Hebrew poems into English verse. This work, when completed, formed the well-known metrical version of the Psalms, which, long after it had been abandoned by the English, remained in use among the Scotch Covenanters to comfort and cheer them in their days of persecution and adversity. The whole of this task was not finished at the time when the exiles returned to England, but much had been done even then. The principal writers were Whittingham and Kethe, and it is from the pen of the latter that we have the spirited version of the hundredth Psalm which still remains in our hymn-books. It was also in all probability at Geneva that it was first sung to the majestic march of the Old Hundredth, then quite a new tune. How can we fail to admire the courage and faith of these old Puritans who, driven from their homes for their faith, and persecuted by their brethren for their dogmas, could, in the midst of their arduous labours, join in praising God in cheerfulness, hope, and courage—

"Under the shadow of Thy throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure;
Sufficient is Thine arm alone,
And Thy defence is sure."

But one more work was needed to complete the equipment of the Puritans. In their disputes with Catholics and Anglicans they rejected the saints recognized by both. We have seen that the Calendar of the Geneva Bible omitted all mention of saints' days, and though it replaced them by the death days of the great reformers, only a small portion of the gap could be filled by this device. But every Church, sect, and party, has need of its heroes, to inspire the living with courage by the example of their virtue. The cruel persecutions of Mary, while giving ample opportunity for the display of heroism, provided the Protestant Church with martyrs whom they could set off against the heroes of the Catholics. It only remained to collect the acts of these victims of Mary's zeal and bigotry to have a complete counterpart to the lives of the saints.

The Church at Geneva was already too much occupied with its great undertakings to be able to think of approaching such a project. It was not left unaccomplished, however, and this period of exile, so important to the Puritan cause, was not to leave it unequipped in any particular. The individual who undertook the task of writing the history of the Protestant martyrs, was John Fox. Though he did not actually belong to the Church at Geneva, he was entirely at one with its members in spirit and in doctrine. At Frankfort, in spite of his mild and conciliatory nature, he had thrown in his lot unreservedly with the Calvinist party, and he was one of the five who had voted for the adoption in its entirety of the Genevan Order. During the quarrel between the Coxans and Knoxans he had tried as far as was possible to mediate between the disputants. But his sympathies leaned always to the latter party, and when finally Whittingham and his party left the city, Fox accompanied them.

He took up his residence at Basle, on account of the printing press situated there, and he seems to have set to work at once upon the great work which has made his name famous. His fellow-countrymen rendered him every assistance, and one of the most active of his collaborators was Grindal. The future Primate deeply interested himself in the work, and was most helpful in collecting materials. For the history of the martyrdoms of Cranmer and Bradford, he was almost solely responsible. Not only did Grindal perform these kindly offices, but he also aided in correcting the style of the book. Fox was a very indifferent scholar, and as he wished to write his work in Latin, according to the prevailing custom, he could not trust himself entirely without some such assistance.

The "Book of Martyrs" is the common property of all Protestants, and it would be an absurd pretention to claim it exclusively for the Puritans. At the same time it seems to belong in an especial manner to that party, and they perhaps valued it the most highly. By its authorship they certainly had the prior claim, and during the persecutions of Elizabeth they might compare their own sufferings with those of their heroic predecessors, and this the more fortunate Anglicans, safe within the pale of their Church, could hardly do.

If Geneva was the centre of Puritanism during the days of the exile, Zurich claims the distinction of having been the metropolis of the Anglicans. This Church enjoys the reputation of having been the most learned of all those founded by the English abroad at this time. Among its members were Peter Martyr, the most prominent of the foreigners who had helped to direct the progress of the Reformation under Edward VI. At the head of the Church was the erudite Bullinger, a man universally respected, and who exercised and continued to exercise a vast influence over the English Protestants of all opinions. Of the English residents perhaps the best known is the diligent Jewel, one of the first exponents

of Anglicanism, and the master of the judicious Hooker. At his side were Parkhurst and Pilkington, and a number of other English churchmen who became more or less distinguished in the following reign.

Owing to some misconception, the origin of which it would be hard to explain, the idea subsequently got about that the English at Zurich passed a very miserable time, and suffered the greatest hardships. This story being exaggerated, it was actually reported that they were reduced to such straits as to eat mice. Nothing can be farther removed from the truth than these statements. Of all the English abroad at this time, those at Zurich certainly lived the easiest and most comfortable life. It is true that some of them were obliged to teach or write in order to earn a living, but they suffered from nothing worse, and that in itself can hardly be considered a hardship. The inhabitants of the town extended the heartiest welcome to the homeless refugees, and offered them their hospitality. In the house of the printer, Christopher Froscher, we read that twelve of them lived together very merrily. But it is in letters written subsequent to the reign of Mary that we have the most decisive testimony to the gratitude of the exiles of this town. In the heat of the conflicts engendered by disputes about the Church settlement in England, those Elizabethan bishops who had once been exiles lamented the peace and rest they had enjoyed in the little Swiss city. "O Zurich," wrote Jewel, "how much oftener do I now think of thee than ever I thought of England when I was at Zurich." In a letter to Bullinger, Lever also expresses his gratitude in the following words, "I cannot but retain a grateful remembrance of that exceeding hospitality and benevolence which Zurich exhibited to us under your patronage with so much comfort, benevolence, and friendly regard." Finally, in August, 1573, in the midst of a fierce conflict about vestments and ceremonies, Sandys wrote to Bullinger, "I wish for nothing more than that, relieved from these cares and anxieties with which I am now

overwhelmed, I might pass the remainder of my life at Zurich, as a sojourner and active person."

Nothing can be more decisive than the testimony of these letters, and examples of the kind might easily be multiplied.

The comfort and peace of the exiles at Zurich was perhaps not altogether beneficial to them. Although, as I have already said, they enjoyed the reputation of being the most learned congregation abroad, and though their time was chiefly devoted to literature, yet they only produced some pamphlets of a dogmatic nature. Nothing of any permanent value issued from their press, nothing that could for one moment be compared with the gigantic literary efforts of the Church at Geneva.

In the discussion of the disputes that took place at Frankfort, and the various divisions which took place among the English on that account, I have employed with perhaps too little precision or explanation the terms Anglican, Puritan, and Calvinist. As a matter of fact it was only during the exile that these terms began to have different and distinct meanings, so far as they were used at all. All the English Reformers agreed in looking upon Calvin as one of the greatest expounders of the new doctrines. The most conservative of the English exiles considered that ceremonies and vestments were things needless in themselves, and which might readily be abandoned. Bullinger had declared to Whittingham that on no account could he approve of surplices, the churching of women, the ring in marriage, and private baptisms ; nay, Cox himself in later years ran some danger by refusing to minister in Queen Elizabeth's Chapel because of the crucifix and lights there.

It might therefore seem at first sight as if, after all, there was little or no difference between the doctrines held by the English at Geneva and Zurich. The struggle at Frankfort, however, had served to bring these to light. The Coxan party represented what may be called the Anglican feeling, which retained a part of the tradition of the ancient Catholic Church,

and held the sacerdotal idea of the superiority of the clergy. These qualifications fitted the men of this party to become members of the state Church as conceived by Elizabeth. The greater liberty of their ideas with regard to tradition, and their sacerdotalism, made them more flexible in their opinions than the sturdy and obstinate Puritans who would acknowledge no authority but Scripture. It is not therefore surprising that it was from among the Protestants of Zurich, rather than from those of Geneva, that Elizabeth chose her future bishops and church dignitaries, and with this material, Calvinistic and Puritanical as it was to a large extent, she was enabled to form a Church to her liking.

CHAPTER III.

THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFORT (CONTINUED).

HAVING thus discussed the headquarters of both hostile camps, at Geneva and at Zurich, and having examined their nature and their various activities, let us now return to the field of battle, to Frankfort. Cox's success had, after all, been but superficial, and the congregation began its quarrels again almost before he was out of sight. Much must be allowed for the quarrelsome nature of the English at Frankfort. At the same time it is certain that the measures he had taken to settle the Church were not well conceived. The discipline he had caused to be drawn up proved defective, and did not meet all the needs of the case. It is also probable that by excluding some of the members from voting in the election of the governors of the Church, he had left many of its members impressed with the idea that they had been unjustly treated, and imposed upon.

The separatist and anti-sacerdotal opinions that he had come to stamp out, were silenced only and not crushed, and they were only waiting for Cox's departure in order to raise their head again.

Cox had hardly turned his back when the Frankfort congregation began to fall out with their pastor, Whitehead. The latter had created some discontent in the matter of the baptism of the child of one Kent, a member of the

congregation. The father wished the ceremony to be performed in the French way, but Whitehead absolutely refused to do anything unless the child had god-parents given to it. Here we have a clear case of revolt against the provisions of the Anglican Church. Unfortunately the question is treated very summarily in our only authority—the "Troubles of Frankfort" —and even the result of the dispute is not given. Apparently, however, Kent had many sympathizers in the congregation, while the pastor seems to have lost all influence, at least if we may judge from what followed immediately after. It appears that Treherrn, the lecturer in Divinity, fell sick, and was for a time unable to fulfil his duties. Whitehead confidently expected to be appointed to supply the vacancy, and he was consequently much chagrined when he was passed over. In a pet, he resigned his pastorate, feeling, no doubt, perfectly sure that every one would come and implore him to take it again, and with it the lectureship in Divinity. It must, therefore, have been a most disagreeable surprise to him when he found the congregation would be quite contented without him, that it did not even ask him to reconsider his decision, but proceeded at once to the election of his successor. The dismayed pastor was utterly taken aback by the coldness of the congregation towards him. Upset by the absolute failure of his *coup*, he now endeavoured to recall a resignation which he had never seriously intended. But it was too late. The congregation may have been amused at the ridiculous position Whitehead had put himself into by his precipitate action. They had no mercy, and were evidently only too glad to take him at his word. On the 1st of March, 1556, they elected Robert Horne, one of those who had come with Cox to Frankfort, to take his place. We do not know in what way the election of Horne was carried out, whether he was elected by the suffrage of the ordained clergy only, or by the voice of the whole congregation. In any case it does not seem to have been entirely satisfactory. Whitehead, in his impotent rage, accused

his successor of having intrigued against him, and Horne thought it necessary to clear his character of this and other aspersions before he finally consented to take office.

Such are the few facts which are all we have to enlighten us upon this obscure matter. They seem to have been culled from a letter of Cole written to Whittingham, and this was probably the only information the latter had on the matter when he wrote his "Troubles of Frankfort." It is regrettable that this is so, for in all probability a fuller knowledge of the incident would throw considerable light on subsequent events. As it is, however, it would be useless to waste time upon what could be no better than mere guesswork.

However Horne may have obtained his election, it is certain that he had not long been in office before the relations between himself and the congregation had become strained. If he had been the nominee of the Church he was far from being its creature. He seems to have been a man of a domineering character, fond of power and anxious to display it, traits that illustrate and explain most of what follows. Even those associated with him in the government of the Church, the elders and deacons themselves shared the unpopularity of their chief and colleague. The most prominent among these was Richard Chambers, who has been already mentioned for his liberality. This, however, so far from gaining him a general popularity rather increased the odium against him. In his capacity of deacon he was accused of making an unfair distribution of the funds entrusted to him. It was said that he particularly favoured some of his friends, while he left others, not so devoted to himself, entirely unprovided, all without any regard for the real needs of either the one or the other. Such accusations received some colour from the fact that Chambers absolutely refused to give any account either of the money he received or of the way in which he distributed it, so that there were not wanting some who darkly hinted that he was guilty of peculation.

A very small matter sufficed in order to fan this smouldering discontent into a flame. At supper-table one day, about the middle of January, 1557, one Ashley, a layman of good position, became engaged in a somewhat heated argument with Horne. The matter, however, was amicably settled immediately after by the intervention of the friends of both parties, and nobody thought any more about it. Here the question would have rested in merited oblivion had it not been for the officious zeal of the elders, who persisted, against all reason, in considering the honour of their body to be called in question, and who decided to take it up. Accordingly, a few days later, Ashley received a summons to appear before this body to answer the charge of having slandered the governors of the Church. On the day following the receipt of this missive Ashley duly appeared before Horne and his colleagues as they had required him to do. But it was in no spirit of submission that he complied with their demand. He did not come to be judged, but in order to object to his self-constituted judges. The pastors and elders he declared were moved solely by private spite, and in any case they had no right to pass sentence in a case in which they were all interested. Upon these grounds he refused to acknowledge their jurisdiction, and appealed to the congregation to decide the question. Alarmed at the prospect thus threatened of a quarrel with the whole body of the Church, Horne endeavoured to dissuade Ashley from his intention by threats. If he persisted in his appeal, the offended pastor declared that he would have recourse to the aid of the magistrates. Ashley, nothing daunted, persisted in denying the jurisdiction of his accusers, and went at once to lay the matter before the congregation, where he found plenty of sympathetic listeners.

If Horne had been on friendly relations with his Church, he would have had nothing to fear from the action of Ashley, although he might have considered it irregular. As it was, however, it is but too clear that the pastor felt his position to

be insecure, and dreaded exceedingly the struggle which he was bound to consider inevitable.

The eagerness with which the congregation took the matter up, proves, as clearly as anything could be proved, how much Horne was disliked. The petty supper-table squabble altogether dwindles in proportion, from this moment, before the larger issues now raised. It was no longer Ashley and the elders who found themselves face to face, but the congregation and its governors, determined to fight out to the bitter end important questions of principle.

It had been to small purpose that Cox had devoted so much energy to the extirpation of anti-sacerdotal ideas at Frankfort. In this winter of 1557 they reappeared there with even greater force than ever. The whole of the coming struggle was to rage about this point. If the priest was sacred, if he belonged to a higher and a privileged class, then Horne was in the right, and was perfectly justified in his intention to punish Ashley for having slandered him. If, on the other hand, the pastor of the Church was spiritually on the same level as the members of his congregation, and his office was simply conferred upon him on account of some special fitness, and in the interests of order, then the members of the Frankfort Church had no choice but to protest against one of their number being judged by his accusers as a proceeding contrary to the very fundamental principles of jurisprudence.

Such were the questions actually at stake, and though it is unlikely that they presented themselves to the contending parties in this light, yet they form the real basis of the succeeding struggle.

The action of the congregation in taking up the case of Ashley not only changed the tribunal and the questions at stake, but also the relative position of the parties. In the new posture of affairs it was Horne who was the defendant, while Ashley became the plaintiff, while the former in his turn contested the right of his judges to try his cause. The leadership

of the congregation party was undertaken by John Hales, a member of an old and distinguished Kentish family. Immediately after Ashley had appealed from the elders, this gentleman, also a layman, be it noted, summoned a meeting of the Church to discuss the matter. On the 28th of January this assembly met, and Horne was present in order to sustain his cause. Imitating the example of the weaker party in the previous struggle, he endeavoured to support his threatened authority on a decree of the magistrates. This he produced and read, adding afterwards, as a commentary, that such assemblies as Hales had summoned were very prejudicial to their interests, because they were a cause of offence to the magistrates, who might possibly drive them out of their church, and even from the city. Then, taking a leaf out of Cox's book, he turned round upon his opponents, declared that Hales had shown himself a schismatic by his action, and that he should be dealt with as such.

If Horne imagined that he would terrify the congregation, he was grievously mistaken. If he really believed he could carry out his threats of punishment, he had overrated his powers. Outside the actual governing body itself he had hardly any supporters, and the history of the previous struggle should have taught him the futility of endeavouring to bolster up his authority by a decree of the magistrates. As it was, his violent action only precipitated the struggle, and added to it more fierceness and bitterness.

Contrary to Horne's hopes and expectations the congregation was frightened neither by the decree of the magistrates, nor by the threats of their pastor. They felt sure they could obtain the alteration of the former, while they could afford to laugh at the impotence of the latter. The day following the first meeting the congregation assembled again, so little did they regard the decree of the magistrates as serious. Hales, who had been prevented by indisposition from appearing in the church on the previous day, now came in order to clear himself

of the charge of schism. Like Ashley, he appealed to the judgment of the congregation, and offered at once to leave the city if they considered the action well founded. This speech was received with acclaim, and they all protested that they judged Hales' action not only not schismatical, but most meet and proper in a Christian man. Not content with this, they proceeded to pass a general resolution designed to meet all similar cases, in which they declared that similar assemblies in the Church, when nothing else was going forward, should not be esteemed schismatic.

War was now declared in real earnest. Not only had the congregation decided to take up the cause of Ashley, but it had already judged the case of Hales. It had even done more than this ; for, not content with these two decisions in particular cases, it had passed a general resolution not only without the consent of the pastor, but without consulting him, and in his despite.

Horne had not expected so decided or so general an opposition. If he had previously been conscious of his unpopularity, he had never dreamed that the congregation would go to such extremes. He began to realize that he had acted rashly and unwisely, and would probably have given anything for some means of withdrawing from the affair without loss of dignity, and without seeming to give in. But to surrender unconditionally was not in his nature, and to that he could not bend his pride. On the following Sunday, after the morning service, Horne, in his own name and that of the elders, asked pardon for all private offences. At the same time he was careful to show that he had not abated one jot of his pretentions, but intimated that he and the rest of the governing body reserved to themselves the right of judging such causes as concerned their ministry.

After the lengths to which they had gone, the congregation did not intend to let the matter be smoothed over thus. They could not accept the position that Horne had laid down, and

they sturdily replied that the Church reserved to itself the public causes belonging to itself and in the interest of its liberty. They were, moreover, very dissatisfied with the state in which Horne had left the Ashley question.

If the elders still wished to judge him, that could not be tolerated, for from the congregation's point of view, that would be monstrously unjust. If the pastor wished to slur over the matter, that seemed little better. The accusation would still remain hanging over the head of Ashley to his prejudice and the destruction of all comfortable relations. It was therefore imperative that the case should be judged, and if Ashley could not be convicted he should be triumphantly acquitted. The congregation were determined that their governors should not escape from the results of their action.

On the afternoon of the same Sunday, therefore, another meeting was held in the church, with the permission of the pastor and elders. Three times all those who accused Ashley were desired to come forward and lay their complaints before the congregation. As no one responded, it became at once apparent that none but Horne and his colleagues had any complaint against him. From this the congregation judged that the rulers were more than ever unfit to try the case, and they at once proceeded to carry a resolution, designed to limit the pretensions of the elders in this respect, expressed in general terms, so that it could be applied to all similar cases.

Horne and his associates were not present at this meeting, although they had authorized it. When, however, they heard of what had been done, and of the steps taken to dispose of their claims, they at once resigned their offices in a body, giving as a reason that only the shadow of authority was left them. Such has been the plea of tyrants in all ages, and it explains only too well the discontent and disaffection of the congregation. From this time forward no doubt can remain about Horne's autocratic behaviour, and it is clear that the present struggle was a revolt against it. At the same time Horne's

resignation was not given in good faith, as is clearly proved by his subsequent conduct. By this means the pastor hoped to reduce the congregation to such embarrassments that it would abandon all its positions and come and implore his pardon. With the example of Whitehead before his eyes, he must have known the dangers of such a course, but he appears to have been ready to risk a fiasco on the chance of bringing the congregation on its knees.

At first all went well with him. His opponents had not anticipated such a step. They had no one ready to fill the vacant places, and they probably did not regard the questions in dispute in so serious a light as Horne did. They therefore requested their pastor very earnestly to reconsider his decision, and hoped that both he and the elders would remain. This was exactly what Horne wanted, but he was too anxious to press his advantage. He therefore refused to take up office again, unless he were allowed to have entirely his own way. Apparently, however, the congregation did not take his refusal very seriously, and the following Sunday a very curious scene occurred. The members of the Church assembled as usual for divine service; but when the time to begin the service had arrived the pulpit remained vacant, and the congregation could only sit still in astonishment. Horne and the Elders had taken their places among the ordinary members of the Church, and they absolutely refused to take any official part in that day's worship.

Obviously this state of affairs could not be allowed to last, or the Church would become the laughing-stock of the place, and a by-word everywhere. The congregation therefore determined to arrange some *modus vivendi*, or else to make an entire re-settlement of the church. Accordingly, on February 3rd, a meeting was held in order to make peace. But its result was only fiercer and more bitter war. Hostilities began when Horne, in his usual autocratic manner, bade one of the speakers to hold his peace. Finding that he was not obeyed, the

ex-pastor, who so evidently still wanted to rule, made off towards the door, with the intention of breaking up the meeting. Finding, however, that no one followed him, and that his attempt would prove abortive, he returned to occupy the pastor's place in the church. Calling the elders about him, he declared that he had only resigned personally, but if the congregation would agree to obey the old discipline, they would all remain in office. It was not likely that the congregation would receive this advance very kindly, for it simply reduced them to the *status quo ante*, and gave no guarantee against the recurrence of such affairs as that of Ashley. The leaders of the Church party therefore replied that they could not accept such terms, because they made no provision for faults in the pastor. In Horne's eyes the office of pastor was sacred, and its holder irresponsible and inviolable. He therefore was no more ready to accept the advances of the congregation than they had been to accept his. Hard pressed as he was, and hoping to dissolve the meeting, he made two more strategic moves towards the door, only to return each time on finding that he was not followed. Not knowing what course it would be best for him to pursue, yet determined not to yield one iota of his principles, he finally went to take his former place in the pastor's chair. Here his opponents clearly demanded that he should allow the congregation to judge Ashley's case. Horne flatly refused, but offered, together with the elders, to draw up a new discipline for the Church. The congregation could not possibly accept this, for it would have been an absolute renunciation of all that they claimed, and considering that they were in revolt against the excessive claims of their pastor and elders, it seems exceedingly strange that Horne should have proposed that the latter should have the sole right of judging the questions in dispute. It was simply the affair of Ashley repeated on a larger scale. Horne altogether refused to appreciate the grounds of the opposition, while the latter could not accept the sacerdotal ideas of their pastor.

The cause of the elders was lost, and no one recognized this so clearly as Horne himself. Complaining of cold, he dissolved the assembly, and departed, possibly with some faint hope that the others would follow. But nothing of the kind happened. Horne had lost the last remnants of his influence. The events of the preceding hours had taught the congregation that all accommodation with their late governors on a tolerable basis had become impossible, and they now only thought of filling their places, and of re-settling their too frequently disturbed Church. Accordingly, immediately after the departure of Horne, they set to work upon these two objects, and appointed two commissions of eight persons each, the one to draw up a new discipline for the Church, the other to judge Ashley. In the mean time they took steps to provide for the carrying on of the ministerial and university functions of the colony that had been threatened by the resignation of those who had originally had the charge of them.

Although the pastor and elders had retired defeated, it was not their intention to abandon the struggle so easily. If he could not rule the congregation, Horne was at least determined to embarrass it as much as possible in its difficult task of reconstruction. By keeping the quarrel alive, and by showing an active hostility, he hoped that in the end the victory might rest with him, after all.

In this unamiable task, Richard Chambers appears as his chief assistant, and from this moment the two are associated together. Alike the principal objects of the antipathy of the congregation, they united to repel hatred by hatred. In every possible way they exerted themselves to upset the plans of their opponents. Their factious spirit appears at every turn. They objected, as on principle, to everything that the congregation did, even to the refilling of the offices that they had voluntarily resigned. They absented themselves from the English Church, and attended instead the services of the French and Germans, and they succeeded in inducing a few of their

countrymen, and they must have been very few, to do the same thing. But with these and other means they had but one object in view, one they never lost sight of. They intended, if it were possible, to recover their position and power, and for this purpose they were doing their utmost to secure the favour and assistance of the magistrates of the town.

In the mean time, in spite of the attacks of Horne and Chambers, the congregation had been proceeding successfully with its work. On the 14th of February the Committee appointed to revise the discipline had accomplished their task, and came to present the results of their labours before the congregation. The new book, thus drawn up, may be called the Bill of Rights of the Frankfort Church. It deals with every one of the points that had been raised in the late dispute, and condemns the autocratic principles of Horne, while it asserts the liberties of the congregation. Accused persons were to be tried, ordinarily by the pastor and elders. They had the right, however, to object to any one of their judges. In such a contingency the person or persons to whom exception was taken might not sit. Their places were to be filled by election by the congregation. In case the pastor and elders were objected to as a body, the whole congregation was to judge. Unless these arrangements should seem to give too much license to offenders, the most severe punishments were denounced against all who should appeal factiously, while the governing body always possessed the right of calling in the aid of the magistrates against the congregation. Small assemblies for private controversy with or without the consent of the pastor were perfectly regular.

So much for the general dispositions more particularly affecting the questions in dispute. Further measures were inserted to regulate the responsibility and good behaviour of the governing body. Two ministers were to be appointed to make the office less onerous, and to act as a check upon one another, so that neither could become too domineering. Of the

deacons, it was ordained that they should be persons of good position and estate, and every month they would be required to submit their accounts to an audit by the ministers and seniors.

Although the new discipline was practically a condemnation of the courses pursued by Horne and Chambers, it cannot be said that it was extreme in its tendencies. Indeed, we may rather consider it as surprisingly moderate under the circumstances. Given a congregation and a pastor working perfectly in harmony with each other, there is nothing to say against it, and under contrary conditions it would not have been less effective than any other arrangement. Of course in making this judgment I have regarded the matter from a purely secular point of view. From the standpoint of Horne it had quite another aspect, and appeared as nothing less than a revolt against constituted authority. It is certainly remarkable, even when we take into consideration the peculiar circumstances of the case, to find a congregation claiming for itself at this early date such extensive powers, nay, the chief and ultimate powers in the Church. The Independents, the Congregationalists of to-day, have found in Browne and Barrow the originators of their sect. But the claims of both have been disputed. Surely in this second quarrel at Frankfort we have something extraordinarily like the peculiar tenets of the Independents, and if we may not say with certitude that this body of Nonconformists actually originated at Frankfort at this time, we may notice it as a striking evidence of the floating ideas, opposed to Anglicanism, that existed at this time, and of which we have already recorded another notable example.

Another remark that arises likewise from this struggle is derived from the fact that in their opposition to the congregation, Horne and the elders practically found themselves alone. Now we know that Horne and Chambers, by far the most important of these, had both come with Cox to Frankfort, we know with what purpose and result. Of the others we cannot

say so much, because there remains no information whatever about them. They may or may not have come with Cox's party. In any case, Horne and Chambers were head and shoulders above their colleagues, who seem simply to have followed their lead. In consideration of these facts, is it too much to say that the rise of the congregation was a revolt against the whole system and reform of Cox, and an effort to shake off the rulers whom he had forced upon it ? It is impossible to say. In the absence of proof this theory, in spite of the support of much plausibility, must remain in the domain of interesting conjectures.

In the new discipline, Horne, Chambers, and their colleagues saw a long indictment of their recent action, and probably of the whole of their past government also. On the fundamental question about the authority of the pastor, the congregation had laid down its position very clearly, and as it was the exact opposite of the opinion of Horne, it was not likely that the former pastor would acquiesce. He was the less ready to do so, because from another quarter he had hopes of even yet securing the victory. He had at last induced the magistrates to interfere. The city functionaries, in this, as in the preceding struggle, were not in especial sympathy with either of the parties. The questions in dispute could have no interest for them, even if they had understood them, but it is probable that they did not. As before, they acted solely in the interests of peace and order, desiring as far as possible to re-establish quiet among these turbulent, noisy, and quarrelsome Englishmen, of whom by this time they must have conceived an opinion the reverse of favourable. It was therefore with this purpose that they intervened at this time, and bade the congregation take back its officers, at the same moment ordering all those who considered themselves aggrieved to come and lay their complaints before the city authorities. The congregation obeyed these commands, though it must have been distasteful to them. Difficulties, however, in carrying them out came from

the other side, and most unexpectedly. Horne, expecting perhaps a more complete victory than he had obtained, agreed to accept his office, but refused to preach ; or, in other words, he was ready to take the direction of the Church, though he would not fulfil the duties that were involved. Horne gained nothing by his perversity, and lost all the advantages the aid of the magistrates might have brought him. The congregation manifestly could not accept him on the terms he demanded, and so a second recourse to the Frankfort governors became necessary. The obliging functionaries again complied, but this time they had been approached by the party of the congregation, and the decision was less favourable to the late governing body. They forbad Horne and Chambers to meddle in the offices until the matters in dispute had been settled. They empowered the congregation to elect new officers, but advised them to draw up a new discipline agreeable to all parties, before proceeding to the elections. By their influence and persuasion, they brought about a nominal reconciliation between the parties, and they departed in the hope that the affairs of the Church had been finally arranged. This, however, was far from being the case. No sooner had the magistrates turned their backs than the strife began again. The congregation seems to have honestly desired to arrange some *modus vivendi*, and a commission of fifteen was appointed to revise the discipline, with Horne and Chambers among the number. But Horne was determined to treat upon no terms which did not allow him the whole of the powers he had formerly enjoyed. He and his party refused to take any part in the formation of the new book, and sat sulkily apart from the others. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the new Book of Discipline did not sensibly differ from the one drawn up just previously. No approach to a settlement had therefore been made, for while the congregation persistently adhered to every article in their book, Horne objected to every one of the alterations that had been made. The former discipline, he declared, was quite good

enough for all the purposes of the Church, and ought to have been more carefully considered ere it was so lightly rejected. He thought that one pastor was quite sufficient, for two would interfere with each other, and this might lead to disputes. He objected to the articles which bore more directly upon the case of Ashley, saying as before, that if they remained in force, only the shadow of authority would be left to him. Finally, with regard to the publication of accounts, he alleged that such publicity would expose their benefactors in England to the wrath of the home government.

The congregation, which could rely upon the neutrality, if not on the co-operation of the Frankfort authorities, made no concessions whatever to Horne, and on the 20th of March, after a long and tedious discussion, they submitted their new Book of Discipline to the magistrates, whose approval followed almost as a matter of course. Nothing further remained to be done but the election of new officers, and a meeting was held at once for this purpose. The proceedings were not destined to be altogether undisturbed, for while they were going forward, Horne and his followers tumultuously entered the building, threw a quantity of papers upon the communion table, and then departed as suddenly as they had come. The papers, when examined, proved to contain all the same matter, and this was to the effect that since the minority objected to the new Book of Discipline, they could not take part in the election. This demonstration had no effect upon the members of the Church. The proceedings were carried on as they had been begun, and the appointment of the ministers and officers was completed. Of the late governing body, only one was re-elected, Willford by name, who is mentioned here for the first time, and who probably had taken no active part in the late dissensions. This result was probably due chiefly to a declaration previously made by the late minister and elders, that they would not serve even if they were reappointed. Quite apart from this, however, the choice of the congregation was perfectly rational. It would

have been manifestly absurd to have appointed their former leaders to administer a discipline of which they disapproved. Besides, the congregation had by this time come to recognize that all accommodation with Horne had become impossible, and it was therefore the right course to take, to clearly define their position.

But still the strife dragged on. Horne would not acknowledge himself beaten, and continued to annoy and harass the congregation to the best of his ability, although he could hardly have entertained any further hopes of success. For the third time in the history of this quarrel, the magistrates felt compelled to interfere in the interests of peace and order. With the hope of putting an end to this interminable contest, they proposed an arbitration, and wrote to Cox, Sandy, and Bartue, asking them to come and decide upon the merits of the contending parties. Of these men, the congregation might well have dreaded the influence of Cox; but so anxious were they for the settlement of the dispute that they willingly consented to this means of terminating it. Horne, however, objected. He started from the position that he was in the right, and that reason had been on his side all through. From this standpoint he refused to move, and, of course, he considered all arbitration to be superfluous. The only conditions upon which he would consent to treat with his adversaries were of the most monstrous and exorbitant nature. He demanded nothing less than that he and his colleagues should be reinstated in those offices which they had not only voluntarily resigned, but which they had definitely refused to accept again. As for an arbitration, he could only consent to that if it was to affect all the points in dispute, and, pending the decision of the arbitrators, the late elections and the new discipline were to be suspended. It was as if a hostile general had refused to treat unless his enemy previously delivered into his hand all their fortresses. Such terms could only be accepted, or even thought of, after a crushing defeat; whereas, on the contrary, the

congregation had been triumphantly victorious all along the line. They therefore refused to allow the whole action and energy of their Church to be paralyzed in this manner, and so this final attempt at an accommodation fell to the ground as the others had done before it.

Since Horne and his party refused to sign the new discipline, and as their number was too inconsiderable to allow them to form a Church of their own, nothing further remained for them to do than to depart from Frankfort. They accordingly departed to Strasburg, to a more congenial atmosphere, where they announced, with grievous tones, that the Church they had abandoned was all but ruined. This, however, cannot have been the case; and, for the first time since its foundation, the Church at Frankfort enjoyed the opportunity of the peace and quiet that had so long been denied to it.

In the whole of the struggle just described the conduct of Horne can only be justified upon the supposition that he held highly sacerdotal ideas on the position of the pastor of the Church. Judged from any other standpoint, his conduct appears in anything but an admirable light. From the first he clung tenaciously to every atom of his authority, of whose limits he had extraordinarily enlarged ideas. He hoped to submit the whole congregation, against its will, to the caprice of himself and a few colleagues, who on the most critical occasions could not muster more than twelve votes in the whole Church. Defeated in this intention and disappointed of the assistance of the magistrates, he still continued to annoy the congregation to the best of his ability, from a spirit of mere factiousness. Finally, he gratuitously threw away an excellent opportunity of recovering his position and the greater part of his authority by refusing to accept arbitration, except upon impossible conditions.

The conduct of Chambers, as well as that of Horne, serves to show in what manner the government of the Frankfort Church had been carried on after the reforms of Cox. This

man, as we have said, absolutely refused to render any account of the money he received to be dispensed in charity, or of the use he made of it. The only reason he gave for this very indefensible proceeding was that the publicity of the accounts would expose their benefactors in England to the vengeance of the Government. Nothing could well be more trivial than this excuse. All the Frankfort congregation demanded was a monthly audit by the ministers and seniors only. Obviously there was not the slightest reason to suppose that the secret would leak out in this manner, particularly when all the persons concerned were so interested in keeping it. The action of Chambers in this manner only gave too much colour to the charges of peculation whispered against him; charges, be it noted, which he did not much exert himself to refute. For my own part, however, I prefer to believe in his innocence, and to regard his conduct as part and parcel of the autocratic system of Horne, and to attribute his refusal to an arrogance which haughtily repelled any attempt to limit or to control his authority.

The Frankfort Church was not destined to enjoy for any considerable time its long-deferred tranquillity. The fresh cause of disturbance was of quite another character to those which had previously troubled its peace. The death of Queen Mary had been long and eagerly awaited by the English exiles. Various false rumours of the event had already arrived, only to be speedily contradicted. At last, late in November, 1558, news came to Strasburg, upon whose accuracy there could no longer be any doubt. The bigoted persecutor was dead, and with her the reign of the Spaniards and Papists in England ended. Elizabeth, who had long been the hope of the Protestants—the offspring of Henry VIII. and of Anne Boleyn—reigned in her stead.

We may judge with what joy these tidings were received, and the men of Strasburg hastened to share with their countrymen in the other cities the long-hoped-for intelligence. As was

natural, they sent first to the kindred Church at Zurich, whence the news passed on to Geneva, and thus all the Churches were informed in turn. In the first burst of joy and hope, none thought of anything but as speedy a return as possible to that beloved native land, which they had not been allowed to see for so long. The most impatient set out at once, and, in spite of the severities of an unusually hard winter, overcame all the difficulties on the way to their goal. Others, however, more cautious, and less confident in the Protestantism of Elizabeth, delayed their departure until they had received further evidence of the intentions of the new queen in matters of religion. Others were still engaged in important works which they did not wish to leave, or had contracted ties which did not permit them to depart so suddenly.

Amongst those who thus remained behind an earnest desire was expressed to take some steps to heal those dissensions that had been only too frequent and bitter among them, in order that when they returned to England they might not import these unhappy quarrels to their native country to take root there. By the progress of the quarrels that had taken place the Churches of the English abroad had been divided roughly into two groups, of which one included Zurich and Strasburg, and held to the maintenance of the Edwardian Prayer-book; whilst to the other belonged Geneva, Basle, and Arau. Frankfort had been the common battle-ground of both parties, and it would be difficult to say with which of the two groups it may be classed, although, to judge from the results of the quarrel between Horne and Ashley, we may rather place it with the latter.

With the laudable purpose of uniting these groups by brotherly love, William Kethe was charged to visit the various churches, armed with a circular letter inviting them all to a general sentiment of concord. Unfortunately this mission was destined to prove abortive. Wherever Kethe went he found when he arrived that the large majority of his country-

men had already departed. The quarrels that had saddened the days of exile were, after all, to be transplanted to England, where they were destined to flourish and bring forth their baneful fruit. In any case it is not likely that the mission of Kethe would have been successful even under the most favourable circumstances, for, as we have already seen, the principles upon which the contending parties differed were too fundamentally opposed to be easily reconciled. But, after all, both Anglican and Puritan played a great part in the history of the nation, and by their very strife added to its greatness. Schism itself is not an unmixed evil ; on the contrary, it is a symptom of active pulsating life, and of the seven Churches of the Apocalypse the only two that were not tainted with it were Laodicea the lukewarm, and the dead Sardis.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXILES IN FRANCE.

As the year 1553 advanced, Englishmen began to realize that their young king, upon whose good dispositions they had founded such high hopes, was gradually dying, and in a short time would have ceased to reign. His successor would in all probability be his elder sister, and for the first time in its history, if we may except the brief rule of Matilda, this country would be under the nominal government of a woman. It is a remarkable fact that it occurred to no one to dispute the right of a woman as such to reign, and even Northumberland chose his pretender from the gentler sex. None the less, however, was the situation regarded as a dangerous one. If a queen succeeded the childless Edward, her subjects would be anxious for her to marry in order to secure the succession of the throne, and to avoid the dangers of civil war. But if the queen married, her husband, as belonging to the ruling sex, would undoubtedly exercise the royal power in her name, and much, therefore, depended upon the man she might choose for her spouse.

When Mary ascended the throne, this question was already eagerly debated, and it was not long before she was pressed to make a plain declaration on the subject, while the same matter was brought prominently forward by her first Parliament. The whole people united in the desire that the queen should marry an Englishman, and they even designated the one to be selected.

The young Courtenay, Earl of Devon, seemed the only English noble worthy by his origin and position of this great honour. If the queen would not marry a subject she would do better to remain unwed. Nothing could be more baneful for the true interests of the country than an alliance with a foreign prince. Hitherto England had derived her strength and security from her independent position as arbiter between France and Spain, but this advantage would at once cease with a marriage alliance with either of these powers, who in wealth, resources, and military force were far superior to the England of that day, and who would undoubtedly exhaust the treasures of this country in men and money upon their own quarrels. It was, therefore, with the gravest dissatisfaction that Englishmen learned that their new sovereign had repulsed the petition of their Commons, haughtily bidding them to mind their own business, and asserting that a prince had at least as much right as a private individual to marry the person who pleased him most. The disquiet and discontent of Englishmen was so much the greater since it was known that the queen's inclination leaned towards Philip of Spain. The gravest fears were entertained. With the example of the Low Countries before their eyes, provinces whose liberty had been bartered away simply by marriage alliances, patriotic Englishmen could not but dread lest they, like the brave Netherlanders, should sink to be the slaves of despotic and all-grasping Spain.

Across the water the progress of events in England was keenly watched. In their desperate struggle against the Hapsburgs the balance of power was already too far turned against the French to allow them to permit Spain to add England to her dominions without an effort to prevent the catastrophe. They thought that Charles V. had designs upon Calais, and that, once in possession of this all-important post, he would quell the discontented English, and then begin the invasion of France. Moved by these fears and doubts, they were determined, as far as possible, to do their utmost to

prevent the union of Philip and Mary. The existence of discontent in England upon the subject was well known in France, and the French diplomatists at once took steps to gain some advantage from this feeling. In September, 1553, De Selva, the French envoy at Venice, wrote to the Constable of France advising him to do his utmost to stir up and keep alive the discontent in England, and to encourage the claims of Courtenay. If, however, as seemed most probable, the queen refused to marry a subject, he considered it would be necessary to resist her intention of marrying Philip by force. In another letter to the king the same diplomat urged the importance of giving a chief to the malcontents, for otherwise the proposed revolt would probably be a mere fire of straw—a great blaze all over in a minute, and then completely extinguished. The chief suggested was of course none other than Courtenay, the king already designated by the choice of the English themselves. By pressing the candidature of the Earl of Devon, Henry II. not only hoped to frustrate the ambition of the emperor, but also to bind Courtenay to himself by a debt of gratitude.

The efforts of French diplomacy, the obstinacy of the queen, and the apprehension of the people combined to produce the rebellion in England that had been feared and anticipated. The men of Kent rallied in great numbers round Sir Thomas Wyatt. In the west also the standard of insurrection was raised, from all parts indeed came additional insurgents. On the other hand, Mary had hardly any one on whom she could rely; all alike feared the Spanish match, and those who had not resolved to rise against it had at least refused to take up arms in its defence. The Londoners themselves, in whose midst the queen was then residing, were of very uncertain temper, and quite as ready to join Wyatt as not.

The situation indeed seemed critical, if not desperate. A less determined and courageous sovereign would have fled in dismay, leaving the field to the conqueror. The true Tudor

blood, however, flowed in Mary's veins, and this was one of the rare occasions in her sad reign when she proved herself the veritable daughter of Henry VIII. She began by clapping into prison both Courtenay and Elizabeth, thus depriving the rebels of the chief De Selva had judged so essential to them. To the wavering Londoners the queen made a reassuring declaration on the subject of her marriage. Summoning the Corporation of the City, she assured them that she would marry no one but by the consent of Parliament, and that if that body objected to the alliance with Philip II. she would consent to remain single. This statement at once rallied the Londoners to the queen's side. The old loyalty asserted itself with even greater force than ever; indeed, it had only been obscured for the moment by a still stronger feeling of patriotism. Wyatt's career of success suddenly terminated. At the very moment when he seemed about to attain his desires, he found himself in the middle of the capital, deserted by his followers, and in the hands of his enemies.

As the French ambassador had anticipated, the affair had proved to be a mere fire of straw, a miserable fiasco, which for the moment at least had left the queen more popular than she had ever been before.

The queen had not, however, triumphed over her difficulties so completely as it appeared. The rebellion of Wyatt had only failed because it was premature. No public steps having been taken to carry out the marriage with Philip, the queen was left perfectly free to soothe the Londoners with fair promises, engagements which would serve the turn at such an emergency, but which nothing but honour bound her to keep. The antipathy to the Spanish match remained just as keen as ever, and certainly nothing but Mary's assurances would have induced the Londoners to frustrate Wyatt in his attempt to break it off.

The chief of the rebels in the West, who rose at the same time, and with the same purpose as Wyatt, was one Sir Peter

Carew, a Devonshire gentleman, who in the last reign had distinguished himself for his militant Protestantism in a Catholic county, and who had also taken an important part in a naval action against the French fleet.

Both Carew himself and his biographer have resolutely and repeatedly denied his treason both on this and on subsequent occasions. The balance of evidence, however, seems so strong on the other side, that we are forced to doubt the genuineness of such interested declarations. We are permitted to believe at the same time that his treason was of a very modified type. He was and remained a loyal Englishman to the core. Mary might command his most implicit devotion and obedience if she would only marry Courtenay, or remain single. But the Spanish match he regarded as a most dangerous and destructive step towards the suppression of the liberties and individuality of the nation, and it was against this that he revolted.

More fortunate than his fellow-conspirator Wyatt, Sir Peter, discovering that the game was lost, made good his escape from the country. Having written to a member of the Council that he knew a king who would treat him better than the queen, he crossed over to France, and landed on the coast of Normandy. Thence he was conducted to the French court, and the same night had a secret interview with the King of France. In the first blush of his hate against the Spaniards, and the proposed Spanish match, Carew's first plan seems to have been to return to Devonshire, and with the aid of French troops again to raise the standard of revolt there, and by that means prevent the landing of the infant Philip.

Henry II. of France, in the midst of his embarrassments, was glad to welcome offers of assistance from whatever quarter they might come. In Carew he saw the representative of the anti-Spanish feeling in England, a sentiment which, if not directly friendly towards France, at least promised to relieve that country from the menace of an additional enemy. The king, therefore, forgetting Carew's former deeds of prowess

against the French arms, extended to the refugee the warmest and most cordial welcome. Not only had he at once granted Carew an interview upon his arrival, but he loaded him with caresses and favours. He exempted him from the *aubaine*, or tax upon foreigners, and made him free of the whole kingdom of France, provided he did no harm to French subjects. He placed a gold chain about his neck, gave him money for his necessities, offered him two ships of the royal navy, one of which was of the first class, together with the assistance of four privateers.

But however anxious Henry might be to avail himself of the assistance of the English exiles, the subject was one that required careful and delicate handling. It was the rule of the foreigner that the English objected to, and it was only the accident of the queen having chosen a Spaniard as her husband that directed the animosity of her subjects chiefly against that nation. The English were not disposed to brook French interference in their affairs, and they would have resented such interference with as much energy as they used to cry out against the Spanish marriage. Moreover, France and England at that moment were friendly powers, and the last thing Henry wished to do was to offend Queen Mary. Open assistance to the rebels would have given the queen the opportunity to rouse the spirit of the country, so jealous was it of foreign interference, and thus enable her to carry through the negotiations for the Spanish marriage with facility and quickness. This was the last thing King Henry desired. Dr. Wotton, the English ambassador at the French Court, had already had his suspicions aroused. Acting on the information he sent home, Mary loudly and indignantly demanded the extradition of the rebels, and declared that this was due to her according to the terms of a recent treaty, and was only to be expected from a power that professed to be friendly. In reply, Henry protested his friendliness ; as for the rebels, he had heard nothing about them, his dominions were so large that he could not possibly

take account of all who entered or went out of them. While he thus endeavoured to allay the suspicions of the queen, he judged it expedient to send Carew and the rest of the English who had gathered round him to Rouen, where he hoped they would escape the keen observation of the English envoy.

At Rouen Carew seems to have been looked upon as the chief of the little knot of Englishmen who were there with him. The families and influence there represented were of no mean order. Side by side with Carew was Sir William Pickering, who had been until quite recently English ambassador at the French court, and who had probably joined the malcontents out of pique at his revocation. Among the other families represented were the Staffords, Tremaynes, Killigrews, and Fitzwilliams. All alike breathed the deepest hatred to Spain, and determination to do their utmost to prevent the proposed marriage. In the city that held the ashes of William the Conqueror, Carew, inspired by his surroundings, is reported to have thus addressed his countrymen : "Are we not allianced with Normandy ! What ancient house is either there or in France, but we claim by them and they by us ? Why, then, should we not rather embrace their loves, than submit ourselves to the servitude of Spain ? "

But although Carew was ready to take advantage of the friendship of France, he did not wish that country actively to interfere in English affairs. The plan of a descent upon Devonshire was definitely abandoned, and another mode of offence was adopted. The object the conspirators had set before themselves was to prevent the landing of Philip in England ; they now hoped to make the Channel unsafe for his fleet by securing the command of it, and so make it impossible for the Infant to cross from one country to the other. Their means were slender, but with the assistance of the French king, they might hope to succeed in their designs. Henry had fitted out two hundred sail, and it was currently reported that he meant to put them under the command and at the disposition

of the Englishmen. In the mean time the Killigrews put to sea with three ships, giving out that they were in the service of the French Crown. Perhaps they began at this moment those freebooting raids on Spanish ships of which we shall speak more fully later on.

The threats and preparations of the exiles created the greatest alarm at the English court. It was currently believed that the whole force of the French navy would be employed by the rebels, in order to prevent Philip from making the voyage to England. To protect the Spanish prince, it was thought necessary to equip almost the whole navy to go to meet him, while the Spaniards on their side made similar elaborate preparations.

The fear and alarm excited by the small band of refugees could not fail to have other effects. The report of their plans and their actions excited emulation as well as dread. They were surrounded by the glamour of romance. They appeared as the champions of right against wrong; the friends and upholders of religious and political liberty, as opposed to Spanish despotism and bigotry. The fiery, impetuous, noble youth of England longed to be where they were, fighting their battle. If their queen would not gratify their wishes, and exert the power of England against the threatening ascendency of the Hapsburgs, they hoped as volunteers to serve on the French side against the common enemy. They wished to do so before the fatal marriage had been irrevocably concluded. So far were they from having any disloyal idea in their action, that one actually asked permission of Paget to serve in this way, while the son of Bedford, the Lord Privy Seal, was among the number.

The Court, indeed, looked upon this movement as a revolt, and would grant no such request. Nevertheless the emigration of the young English nobility continued. On the 13th of April, 1554, the Ambassador Noailles wrote to D'Oysel, "Every day a large number of these nobles cross to France, and it seems as if the half of her (Mary's) kingdom is tremulous to go there,

the only difficulty being to find a safe passage." Thanks to this emigration, the French armies gained some valuable recruits. Current reports in France stated that there were twenty-five English gentlemen ready to serve as captains under Carew, and great hopes were entertained from their assistance. One, Captain Cray, moreover, commanding a company of one hundred English horse, joined the French land forces in the war against the emperor.

But the condition of the refugees was very different from what had been imagined. They were spied upon, and betrayed. They could not trust one another. They were harassed by doubts as to whether their conduct was really patriotic, after all. Their boasting and loud threats evaporated in next to nothing, and hardly anything was done to forward the object they had so much at heart.

The Ambassador Wotton never lost sight of them. He had spies who shared all their secrets, and very little indeed seems to have escaped his observation. Accordingly, he sent home full reports of the doings of the rebels, and of their reception in France.

The queen was filled with wrath to think that these disobedient subjects should be enabled to defy her under the shelter of a friendly power. Again and again she demanded their extradition with growing impatience and choler. On one occasion, during an interview with Noailles on this subject, her face was so transformed by anger that it lost all traces of feminine sweetness, as the French ambassador quaintly puts it. But Noailles met the queen's remonstrances with the utmost imperturbability. He continued his assurances that his master knew nothing of the men, while by the next courier he sent back advices that Carew and his fellows should be better concealed. Pushed to an extreme of impatience, he once declared that his master could not consent to be the queen's hangman; but beyond this he made no approach to a confession of complicity. Mary, muttering vague threats of war,

felt obliged to accept these declarations, though she knew perfectly well how false they were.

It was not only by threats that the queen approached the exiles. Softer means were also tried, and cajolement and promises nearly accomplished what menace had failed to perform; so much so, that the French king thought it necessary to intercept despatches, fearing lest they should deprive him of his new allies.

Wotton, the ambassador, however, was steadily at work all the time, and his efforts were speedily crowned with success. The rebels had much to make them dissatisfied with their lot, and they had good reason to be unsteady in their original purpose. In spite of the money they had received from the French king, they suffered from extreme poverty, and it was perfectly apparent that they could not prevent the landing of Philip in England. Quarrels had broken out among them, and the presence of traitors and spies in their midst was only too certain. Added to all this, they must have been harassed by cruel doubts as to their loyalty and patriotism, and have asked themselves if, after all, it was much better to deliver their country to France than to Spain. Nevertheless, it was a great blow to them when they learned, about the beginning of March, 1554, that Pickering had made his peace with the queen, and that he would be received back into favour. The ex-ambassador had been looked upon as one of the chief men among the refugees. All their secrets were in his hands, and thus, not only had they to bear his loss, but they were placed in a most dangerous position. The impetuous Staffords, less scrupulous than their fellows, were for following the deserter and despatching him. But, restrained by their wiser friends, they finally let him go unmolested.

Wotton might well be proud of his success, so soon gained, and at so small a cost. But he intended to push it farther, and wished to retain Pickering in order to employ him to convert Carew and the rest. But the ex-ambassador thought it would

not be safe for him to remain in France, both on account of the resentment of the king and the choler of his associates. He therefore left Paris secretly, and, passing by Lyons, proceeded to Italy through the Empire. Before he left, he informed Wotton that Henry II. intended to land the rebels at Lee, in Essex, and in the Isle of Wight, and either to fortify them there, or march on to raise the country against the Government.

But if Wotton could not retain Pickering in France for his own purposes, fortune favoured him with other converts who would serve the same ends. The conversion of Pickering had so disheartened the others, who began to see that the game was up. Some were sure to follow his example; and this very soon happened. In the following May, two more of the refugees, Randall and Staunton, demanded forgiveness, and were pardoned, on condition of spying upon the others. Randall seems to have devoted his energies to secure the conversion of Carew, while Staunton did his utmost to sow dissensions among those about him, bending his energies to make them odious to the French king, and so prevent their obtaining appointments or employment. Both met with remarkable success.

The desertion of Pickering had much shaken Carew, and it required but little to bring him on his knees. Before the end of July Randall was enabled to report that his conversion had been effected. Carew himself wrote a humble and lamentable letter, asking pardon for his faults, and protesting that he had never been anything but a loyal subject. Like an honourable man he refused to leave the French court without asking permission. For this purpose he sent the younger Killigrew to Paris to declare his position and intentions. The constable who received the envoy detained him four days, grumbled a good deal about the inconstancy of the English, but finished by letting him depart with the required permission. In his present state of mind Carew could no longer be of any

service to the French Crown. He at once availed himself of the permission Killigrew had obtained for him, and sadly departed for Venice, still under the shadow of the royal displeasure, and in the anticipation of a miserable life upon straitened means. Even in the republic he did not feel quite at his ease, and imagined that Peter Vannes wished to have him assassinated. No harm, however, came to him, and he remained in Venice till the end of the year. About that time, hearing that his wife was in the Low Countries, he could not resist the temptation of going thither to meet her. At Antwerp he was unexpectedly arrested, together with Sir John Cheke, conveyed to England, and put in the Tower. A pardon, however, was speedily forthcoming, and Carew lived to faithfully serve both Mary and her successor in Ireland.

Although this remarkable episode in the life of Carew is by no means so clear as it might be, it seems practically certain that he never wished to be anything but loyal and patriotic. His plans of invasion with French help rest only upon the authority of Wotton, who in his turn had to rely upon an informant of more or less credibility. Pickering himself may have been deceived, or perhaps he invented the story as a means of pardon. In any case no active preparations were made to bring about an invasion. This fact, together with the absence of further proofs, compels us to believe the assertions of Carew himself as to his innocence. But it is equally certain that he was determined to prevent the Spanish marriage if it were possible. For that purpose he was prepared to use armed resistance, to force the queen to compliance against her will. It is not probable that he wished to depose Mary in favour of Courtenay and Elizabeth, although he would have been pleased to have seen the young couple married and declared the heirs to the Crown. But when he had once realized that the Spanish match was inevitable, and that it did not lie in his power to prevent it, he desired nothing so much as to make his peace

with the queen, and return again to serve his sovereign and the country he loved so dearly.

The submission of Carew and the machinations of Staunton completely broke up the band of exiles that remained. The leaders of the party were Bryan Fitzwilliam and Staunton himself. As the latter was a spy and a traitor, it is not surprising that the affairs of the refugees speedily went from bad to worse. Neglected by the French king, who no longer had any confidence in them, they were reduced to the greatest straits. Destitute alike of arms, money, and even food, they were reduced to stealing in order to gain wherewith to keep body and soul together. From their quarters at Neuchatel, in Normandy, they made forays upon the neighbouring country, and, not satisfied with this, they quarrelled among themselves, and robbed and plundered each other. The author of this miserable state of affairs, Staunton, must have rubbed his hands with glee, for by no other means could the danger of the English government be so effectually removed, at least from this quarter. Wotton wrote home advising the queen and king to grant a free pardon to all the refugees, feeling assured that by this means the government would turn these rebels into faithful subjects.

No such pardon, however, was granted, nor indeed was it necessary. Misery and suspicion effectually accomplished the same work. Early in July, Bryan Fitzwilliam was on his knees imploring pardon, and assuring the queen that he had not served the French king for the last eight months. Before the end of the following October almost all the others had likewise submitted, and the danger of a revolt in England with French assistance seemed at an end.

In spite of the general submission, and notwithstanding the successful accomplishment of the marriage of Philip and Mary, there still remained a small band of Englishmen in France determined to carry on the war against the Spaniards on their own account. The chief of this party was one Peter

Killigrew, a member of an illustrious family and destined to make a notable reputation for himself. Fortunate in commanding ships given to him by the King of France, he speedily turned them to account. We have already seen that as early as March, 1554, he had put to sea with three ships. He seems to have speedily increased his fleet, probably by adding to it the best of the vessels that he captured, for from this moment he seems to have become a licensed freebooter. Spain was the principal object of Killigrew's hatred, and he considered his readiest way to injure that power would be to attack and rob Spanish ships. The King of France was ready to give him every assistance that he could possibly afford in secret, for it still remained necessary for him to conciliate the English government. The Killigrews made every use of their licence. Darting from the ports of Normandy and the Channel Islands, they swooped upon all the vessels bearing the Spanish flag that they came across. Returning in triumph to such places as Conquest, La Rochelle, or the Hague, they sold their prizes and realized considerable sums of money. By this means they escaped the privations from which their countrymen suffered so severely, and indeed they lived in comparative opulence.

As before, the remonstrances of the English government proved unavailing. The king and the constable affected to ignore the existence of these corsairs, and though the latter promised to prevent their ships from entering a French port again, he somehow forgot to keep his word.

But the time of the Killigrews' prosperity drew speedily to a close. Not satisfied with Spanish vessels only, they fell upon English, and even upon French merchantmen, and might well be considered as public enemies. In June, 1556, they captured two English vessels and armed them to form part of their own fleet. The English government at last realized that it was necessary to take active and energetic measures to put down this nuisance. Ships were fitted out and sent in pursuit of the corsairs. In the following month the queen's

fleet of eight vessels came up with the pirates who had ten. In the sharp engagement which followed, the rebels were completely worsted. Six of their ships fell into the hands of the enemy, and the four which succeeded in escaping were hotly pursued by the royal vessels. Peter Killigrew himself was on one of these four vessels, and he made good his escape, but his brother fell into the hands of the queen's captains, and was carried off a prisoner to England. In spite of the efforts of his father, who endeavoured to buy his pardon, he could obtain no forgiveness, and in all probability soon suffered the penalty for his rebellion. His companions and followers suffered a like fate, for we may almost certainly identify them with the numerous pirates about this time who were hanged at low-water mark at Wapping.

This naval action of July, 1556, effectually quelled the excesses of the English pirates. It is true that they did not entirely give up their marauding expeditions, but the old spirit had been knocked out of them, and they could no longer act with such reckless daring as before. This little episode, however, of maritime history is interesting as showing the tendencies for adventure at sea which were rapidly spreading among Englishmen even at this early period, and which gave us, later on, such men as Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, with a crowd of others hardly less renowned.

The departure and submission of Pickering and Carew had, as I have said, almost completely broken up the party of the rebels in France, and put an end to their activity. With the exception of the excursions of the Killigrews, no hostile demonstrations were made against the Spaniards. This state of affairs was largely due to the fact that English diplomatists were doing their utmost to bring about peace between France and Spain.

English statesmen, at the head of whom was Cardinal Pole, seemed determined to neutralize the fatal tendencies of the marriage of Philip and Mary, and to assert the mediating

position of England in spite of it. Henry II. of France accepted this solution of his difficulties as the best he could have hoped for, and therefore he was in no mind to give that countenance to English rebels as he had done in the past.

Unfortunately the negotiations did not end in a definite peace, and only a flimsy truce resulted from the labours of the plenipotentiaries. In spite of the undoubted sincerity of Pole, it is doubtful if either Philip or Mary really wished for peace. The Prince of Spain counted upon the alliance of England, notwithstanding the restiveness of the people, and he thought that Spain and England together would crush France. As for Mary, she was only anxious to gratify her adored husband in every possible way. Henry II. realized his danger as well as he had done before, and he determined to meet it in the same way. Once more he was ready to receive and encourage English rebels, and he is reported to have said openly that he would rather suffer in his own person than fail to receive and entertain kindly any Englishman, of however low degree, who might take refuge in his realm.

The opportunity was not wanting. Undeterred by continual failures, the malcontents in England were continually active. The religious persecutions had embittered the enemies of the government and cooled its friends, and in the spring of 1556 the air was once more filled with plots and conspiracies. The spirit that had prompted the revolt of 1554 had not perished with Wyatt, nor submitted with Carew. But it had become more reckless and less patriotic. According to the version of the government, the conspirators intended to set fire to London, and to retire to the Isle of Wight. There they were to raise the standard of revolt, with the help of French arms and money, and proclaim Elizabeth and Courtenay as king and queen of England.

It is exceedingly doubtful if any such plan was ever seriously elaborated. But a report of a French invasion might serve

the purpose of the government by raising the national jealousy against the foreigners, while it would enable the queen to rid herself of many persons objectionable to her. Mary may indeed have believed the report, for she was painfully conscious of the unpopularity of her government, and knew well that the people desired nothing better than its overthrow.

Consequently, as soon as the government had learned of the existence of a conspiracy (for a conspiracy there most undoubtedly was), it proceeded to take prompt measures of repression. Such ringleaders as could be seized were thrown into prison and closely examined. Sir Thomas Uvedale, the governor of the Isle of Wight, and John Throckmorton both suffered the extreme penalty for their complicity. Sir Antony Kingston, a prominent member of the opposition in Parliament, died of stone on his way to prison, though many asserted that he had been secretly made away with by the government. Many others also suffered, but the measures of the royal officials were not completely successful. Numbers of the conspirators escaped across the sea, and, like Carew before them, went to seek help and money from Henry of France. Of these the principal were Henry Dudley, a member of the family of the late Duke of Northumberland, and Christopher Assheton, a gentleman of some condition and standing. With them were two of the Horsey family, a Cornewall of Essex, and others of meaner lineage. Apparently the king speedily granted them an interview, for at the beginning of April they met him secretly at night. The rebels held out to the French king great hopes and dazzling promises if he would assist them. They asserted that all England would rise to help them, and that some of those about Queen Mary were in sympathy with them—nay, even some members of the Privy Council. Finally, as the price of the king's aid, they promised to betray Calais to him, a town long desired by the French, for it was at once the memorial of past defeats, and a menace to their future security.

Henry received these advances very graciously, and probably hoped that this rebellion would prove more effective than the last. To Dudley he gave a present of fifteen hundred crowns ; to the others, sums varying from three to five hundred crowns, while he encouraged the hope that he would assist them by his co-operation. Caution, however, was necessary in order to lull the suspicions of the Queen of England. Accordingly Henry bade the refugees retire to the coast, saying that when there they could have better intelligence with their fellows in England. We may suspect that the actual reason was that he wished them far away in places where they would be less likely to be observed by the Ambassador Wotton. The arrival of the rebels and their night interview with the king had not, however, escaped the notice of the lynx-eyed envoy. As many of the English who had been with Carew, and who had submitted with him, still remained in France, he was exceedingly well supplied with spies and informers. To the home government he sent home a full account of these matters as a warning against the unfriendly dispositions of King Henry.

Queen Mary and her counsellors at once took alarm at this disagreeable state of affairs. The late plot had spread its influence in many directions, but though numerous arrests had been made, the government could not tell how far the mischief still existed. Evidently discontent was rife throughout the country, and if the French king gave the malcontents his assistance, who could tell what might happen ? The queen considered the situation sufficiently grave as to demand the services of a special envoy at the French court, and for this mission she selected Lord Clinton.

As might have been anticipated, the new ambassador extraordinary met with a most cordial reception, as far as outward appearances went, but with no real success. At the French court at Blois Henry received him with the utmost cordiality, and loaded him with rich presents. When Clinton complained

of the welcome given to the English rebels, and proposed to arrange some compact by which the enemies of both governments should be mutually given up, the king resorted to the old excuse that his kingdom was so large that he could not tell who entered it or who departed from it. He made Clinton understand, however, that he would shortly deliver up all the refugees into the queen's hands. Delighted at the graciousness of the French monarch, and completely satisfied about the success of his mission, the envoy returned to England to report the results of his journey at the English court.

But he had been grievously deceived. The French king had been throwing dust in his eyes all the time. At the very moment when Clinton was at his court, many of the English rebels were there also, waiting for the departure of the ambassador in order to be able to concert with King Henry their schemes against the government of Queen Mary. The mission of Clinton had no effect upon their activity, unless it served to stimulate their exertions. His back had hardly been turned, ere the rebels pressed eagerly forward their plans of invasion and revolution.

Although imprisoned at the time of Wyatt's rebellion on the suspicion of complicity in that rising, Courtenay, Earl of Devon, had been subsequently released by the government, which could find absolutely nothing of a treasonable nature to bring against him. But the presence of the young and popular earl in England would have been too dangerous for the Spanish party, who dreaded lest he should become the centre of the opposition against them. The unfortunate young man was therefore constrained to leave his native land, and to seek a refuge in foreign parts. In fear of his life if he remained in Hapsburg territory, yet anxious not to offend by going to France, he chose the mistress of the Adriatic as his asylum, and settled down in proud and independent Venice to enjoy what peace and tranquillity he might.

But he had never ceased to be the hope of the anti-Spanish

party in England. They still looked forward to the time when he should be their king, and if Mary would not have him they hoped to unite him to Elizabeth, and cause the young couple to be proclaimed, if not king and queen, at least heirs-presumptive to the throne.

Animated by such ideas as these, Dudley and his fellows longed to draw Courtenay from his retirement and make him their leader. Towards Whitsuntide, 1556, Henry Killigrew departed for Venice to sound the earl on this subject, and, if possible, bring him to France. But Courtenay was not of the stuff of which conspirators are made, and he had none of the resolution and courage necessary for any one who wishes to overthrow a government. His education had not been such as to cultivate his mind or his mettle, and his spirit had been broken by long imprisonment, and by the continual fear of death. Instead of the young earl of noble bearing and intrepid courage Killigrew had expected to see, he found only a weakling, broken in mind and body, desiring only to conciliate the English government and the Spaniards, and anxious to end his days in peace. No help could be expected from such an individual, and Henry Killigrew returned to France to report the complete futility of his mission.

The Earl of Devon did not long survive this visit. Cruelly and unjustly persecuted as he had been, watched at every turn as he still was, life seemed to have lost all its charm for him, and he grew careless of it. In the autumn of this same year, whilst wandering about, he was overtaken by a heavy rain and drenched to the skin. From a neglect of proper precautions, he caught a chill, from the effects of which he died soon after, on the 18th of September, and an hour later Peter Vannes, the English envoy at Venice, hurried to inform the queen of the happy event. Although Courtenay was not dangerous in himself and never could have been so, he was a dangerous centre of disaffection, and as such the queen had cause to rejoice at his death. Many persons did not hesitate to say that she had done

something to bring it about, and that the sudden decease of the young earl in the flower of his age was due to a dose of poison administered by Peter Vannes in conformity with the orders of a jealous and alarmed government. But this is mere suspicion. In the fifteenth century such accusations were only too common, and every unexpected decease was explained in this way. However anxious the government may have been to be rid of Courtenay, there is no reason to suppose that it would have stooped to a crime in order to gain its purpose. The account of the causes of the earl's last illness, as sent home by Peter Vannes himself, is sufficiently circumstantial and probable to allow us to accept his version of the story.

Thus miserably, far from home and friends, perished a man to whom Fortune had opened visions of greatness and glory such as no English subject had ever before deemed attainable. But the very vision of greatness, though unsought by himself, blighted his prospects and ruined his life. The deceitful smile of Fortune lured him to his destruction.

Meanwhile, Dudley and his companions in France, although disappointed in their hopes of assistance from Courtenay, continued to menace the peace of England. Various plans of invasion were mooted. Assheton suggested a general descent upon all the principal places of the south coast, including the Isle of Wight, Southampton, Poole, Weymouth and Portland. Others were for attacking Yarmouth and Harwich, while the Staffords wanted to go still further north and planned the reduction of Scarborough.

But these plans and plots came to very little. Things were not going at all well with the rebels. In spite of all Henry's fervent protestations they were badly in want of money, and with the exception of those who gained a livelihood by piracy, they suffered severely from all sorts of privations. The pusillanimity of Courtenay must have done much to discourage them. But this was not all. Hearing that Sir Peter Carew was at Antwerp, they hoped to gain the co-operation of this

once so celebrated rebel. Accordingly they sent to him to invite his assistance, at the same time imparting to him their plans. But Sir Peter had greatly changed since the days when he had cried out against the Spanish marriage. The refugees had grievously misplaced their confidence in telling him of their designs, for he had no sooner heard them than he communicated the whole plot to the English government. Poverty and misery had so shaken the resolution of many of the rebels that they were ready and willing to make their peace with the queen, and as early as July, Wotton was able to inform Petre that one of the most prominent among them, a Captain Crayer, would at once return to England if he could obtain an appointment.

Such being the state of affairs, it is not surprising that the threats and projects of invasion of 1556 proved just as empty and abortive as those of 1554. But at the later date other matter was in hand. At his very first coming to France, Dudley had offered the French king the possession of Calais as the price of his assistance. This was the part of the rebels' scheme which most commended itself to Henry's mind. Although the king would not break openly with the English government, he was anxious to do all that could be done secretly towards regaining this important French fortress, that had so long been in the hands of the foreigner. Dudley informed him that the whole system of forts in the Calais district was negligently guarded, that the garrisons were undermanned, and insufficiently supplied with provisions and munitions of war. A number of French spies were busy in Calais, and the French troops were being massed in Normandy and Picardy, at Rouen and Abbeville. Dudley further suggested that the French should occupy and fortify Newnham Bridge, for if this was done he asserted that Guisnes could not hold out a week. The question was further complicated by the claims of the French to Sandingfield, an abbey situated on the frontier line between Calais and Boulogne.

This accumulation of dangers at last awakened the government to a full sense of its responsibilities. Calais was not a place to be lightly parted with. The major portion of the revenue of the kingdom was expended upon it. From both a military and commercial point of view, it was regarded as of vital importance to England. By the military authorities of the time it was considered the military key of this country, which in the hands of an enemy would be a standing menace to the security of the realm. As a commercial city, it contained the wool staple, and was the sole legitimate channel through which English goods passed to the continental markets. If this all important place should fall into the hands of the French, it was freely thought and asserted that nothing less than military and commercial ruin attended this country.

The situation was indeed such an one as to cause great anxiety. Not only was Calais full of spies, not only were French troops massing on the frontiers, but the queen's very representatives were not thoroughly to be depended upon. Lord Gray, the governor of Guisnes, was a Protestant, and known to be disaffected on account of the changes in religion. Lord Dudley, the governor of Hammes, was a brother of Dudley the rebel, and reported to be ready to hand over the castle to him; nay, the very Lord Deputy of Calais himself was suspected of carrying on treasonable relations with the French government.

These pessimistical representations of the state of defence of Calais were probably exaggerated. But in any case the home government acted with criminal remissness. Some activity was shown in the summer of 1556. The governor endeavoured to get hold of the spies, but without any very great success. A man named Tuckfield committed suicide to escape arrest, while a Frenchman named Devisat let himself over the wall and got safely away. The dispute between Lord Gray and the governor of Boulogne about Sandingfield had

given rise to a skirmish between the French and English troops, in which blood had been shed. The matter began to look so serious that the Deputy Pembroke judged it advisable to send reinforcements of three or four hundred men to his colleague. Happily, this question was not destined to cause a war between England and France. Both nations looked calmly on the matter, and a commission was appointed to define the frontier on that side.

This fortunate termination of what promised to be a serious affair seems to have exercised an extraordinarily soothing effect upon the English government. Too readily assuming the friendly disposition of the French, and relying too implicitly upon the strength of the virgin fortress, Calais again suffered from the neglect of its rulers, and remained under-garrisoned and almost destitute of stores.

The King of France did not have to wait long before he was able to snatch this coveted fortress from the hands which held it so loosely. When open war had been declared between England and France, less than eight months later, King Henry was able to profit by the information Dudley had given him. When the Duke of Guise suddenly appeared before Calais in the autumn of 1557, he had every reason to believe that the place would fall an easy prey to his arms. It was then too late for the English government to send men and provisions. Small in numbers and threatened with famine, the garrison offered but a feeble resistance, and almost before the queen had become aware that the place was besieged, she learned that it had fallen.

To-day, after the lapse of so many years, we can hardly realize the terrible shock this news caused in our country. It seemed a final and crushing blow to the prosperity of England. The saying of Mary that, after her death, Calais would be found graven upon her heart seems to us an extravagant absurdity, but it only too well represents the general dismay felt at the time. Had it not been for the preceding

victory of St. Quentin, and the general assurance that the town would speedily be regained, Englishmen would certainly have despaired of their country. As it was, the loss of so important a possession roused to a still higher pitch the indignation and discontent of the people against a government by whose negligence this great disgrace had befallen them.

To return again to the more direct work of the exiles, for we have not yet done with them. The various projects of invasion concocted by the malcontent Englishmen in France did not entirely end in talk and bluster. Towards the end of the reign of Mary an expedition of refugees actually crossed the seas for this purpose, and though they were promptly crushed, still their action served finally to induce the English nation to take part with Spain in the war against France.

Among the chief of those Englishmen present at the Court of Henry II., at the beginning of the year 1554, were two brothers, Sir Robert and Thomas Stafford. By blood they were allied to the royal family of England, for their father William, Lord Stafford, had married Ursula Pole, sister of the celebrated Cardinal, and of this union they were the offspring. In May, 1553, Thomas at least was in Venice, where we read that by special favour he was permitted to view the jewels of St. Mark, and obtained the privilege of wearing arms. Like many young Englishmen of that period, he was probably making a tour of the Continent, and in particular of Italy, which at that time exercised a great influence on fashionable English society. On the news of the death of King Edward he must have hurried back to England, where he took part in the funeral of the late king, as one of the bearers of the royal body. His doings about this time are somewhat obscure, although a few facts stand out clear in the mist of uncertainty. He appears to have sided with Queen Mary, and is reported to have distinguished himself in fighting against the Duke of Suffolk. But if he was opposed to the rebels at this time, he was no friend of the Spanish marriage. However strong his

love of legitimacy in the succession may have been, he was as fierce against the foreigner as any of the hot-blooded young nobles and gentry about him. The queen's pertinacity in this matter soon extinguished the flame of loyalty in his breast, and before long he was a rebel and a refugee himself. At the end of March he and his brother, Sir Robert, arrived at Fontainbleau, only a day after their uncle. They seem to have at once attacked the worthy cardinal in the hope of converting him to their views, and of remonstrating with the queen. But Pole, though embarrassed by the presence of his unruly nephews, for he had come to treat of peace between France and Spain, would have nothing to do with them. He wrote home to the queen to express his regret at their rebellious doings, while at Fontainbleau he turned them both out of his house, and refused even to see their letters.

Cast off in this way by their powerful uncle, the two brothers were left to their own resources, and seem to have thrown in their lot with Carew and his party. The part they played at this time must have been quite a secondary one, and besides their outburst of wrath against Pickering when he made his peace with the queen, we hear almost nothing of them. In 1555, when Carew and so many others obtained their pardon, the Staffords refused to submit, and continued to stay in France in and about the French court.

This life of exile seems to have had a most prejudicial effect upon Thomas Stafford. Always of a changeful and excitable nature, he began to develop symptoms, if not of madness, at least of extraordinary folly. Having nothing else to do, he must needs fall out with his brother Robert. The real cause of this quarrel can only be surmised; it may possibly have been on account of Thomas's claim to the English throne, of which, however, we hear nothing till a month later. Whatever may have been the cause, in the fall of 1556 Sir Robert Stafford complained that his brother was going about to assassinate him. Upon this accusation, he caused the unfortunate

Thomas to be seized and cast into a vile prison at Rouen, among thieves and felons, and the worst malefactors. Escaping soon after, Thomas swore that he would be even with his brother, and began at once to take measures to obtain redress. Sir Robert, who, if he had feared assassination before, now had double cause to expect it, hied him in great haste to the king's court, where he besieged Henry with supplications to put his brother to death. It was certainly with much justice that Wotton exclaimed, "If ever there was a *tragico comedia* played, surely these men played it." But, after all, this was only the farce that preceded the more elaborate drama.

Of this *lever de rideau* the *dénouement* was less exciting than the beginning had promised. Thomas Stafford, more fortunate with the judges than his brother had been with the king, obtained a decision in his favour by which Sir Robert was cast in heavy damages. The latter, however, by his importunity, got the case evoked by the royal court, and both parties were summoned to Paris. Here neither brother would stir out of his lodgings unless accompanied by a band of armed men. What eventually came of this matter history does not record. The subsequent silence and insignificance of Sir Robert may lead us to suppose that he lost. While the matter was on, however, he endeavoured to keep up the excitement by the addition of another dispute. Apparently he could not live except in an atmosphere of quarrels.

In January, 1557, at the same time as Sir Robert, another important Englishman happened to be sojourning at Paris. This was Bryan Fitzwilliam, for a short time the leader of the English refugees after the departure of Carew. In July, 1555, he had made his submission to the English government, but his pardon had not been complete. He had not been allowed to return to England to serve his queen, as he had desired, and he was still lingering in exile at Paris. Sir Robert Stafford had probably heard of Fitzwilliam's presence in the capital, but that had previously interested him but little. Nearly eighteen

months had elapsed since Fitzwilliam's desertion of the rebels' cause, and if Sir Robert had felt himself aggrieved, he must have had plenty of opportunities of giving vent to his dissatisfaction. Now, however, his relations with his brother and the pending action before the royal court made him anxious to be well with the king, and to prove his zeal for the French cause. The fact that Fitzwilliam was one of his brother's greatest companions only stimulated Sir Robert the more to quarrel with him. For the dispute to break out into an open brawl it was only necessary for the two men to meet. The opportunity soon came. Coming across each other in the streets of Paris, Sir Robert called out that Bryan Fitzwilliam was a traitor. The other retorted by calling the excited knight a liar. Nothing more was needed; cartels of defiance were exchanged, the seconds intervened, and a duel was arranged.

On the afternoon of New Year's day, 1557, the loungers of Paris might have seen a curious sight. On the bridge of Notre Dame, under the shadow of Maurice de Sully's venerable masterpiece, on the highway between the right and left banks of the city, between the streets of St. Jacques and St. Martin, those who wished might have seen these two foreigners, both rebels and exiles, fighting their grim battle. The struggle was no fancy one. The insults exchanged were no light ones, and the combatants were determined they should be washed out in blood. The fight was sharp, but Sir Robert was no match for his antagonist. Fitzwilliam sent his adversary's weapon flying from his grasp, and then ran him through the left arm.

Sir Robert was no more fortunate in his lawsuit than in his fencing. In spite of his anxiety to display his zeal for the French king, his influence at court visibly declines, while that of his brother rapidly increases. But now the farce is over, and the curtain rises on the tragi-comedy indeed.

Towards the end of 1556 Thomas Stafford became impressed with the idea that he was a great lord, and the heir-presumptive to the throne of England. Upon what grounds

he founded his claim it would be difficult to say, for even in his own family he appears to have been the younger brother. That he was connected with the royal family is certain, but this alliance was only on the distaff side. Indeed his claim does not bear one moment's serious consideration. Sir Robert dismissed it very summarily, and among the other items of the dispute with his brother he called him a traitor, because his claim was in prejudice of the right of the Queen of Scots. Of Elizabeth no one said a word.

None the less Thomas Stafford was very careful to inform all strangers who came to court of his high rank and future destiny. They must have taken him for a curious person and probably laughed freely at him behind his back. The English refugees, at any rate, made very merry about him and all his doings. Stafford's familiar and chief counsellor was one Stowell, and this man they at once dubbed the "Lord High Treasurer."

It seems, therefore, very strange that the King of France humoured Stafford, and seemed to give some countenance to his pretensions. He probably found the poor man amusing enough, quite as entertaining as a court jester. He may also have thought of making some use of the man. Strange things had already happened in England, and why should not Thomas Stafford succeed as well as Henry of Richmond? Given a discontented and a rebellious people, the way to the throne seemed easy to any pretender who could excite popular favour. Courtenay being dead and gone, this hot-headed young man might constitute a useful substitute for the unhappy earl.

Whatever may have been his reasons, Henry smiled very graciously upon this aspiring gentleman. To him and Dudley he gave sumptuous lodgings at the Court at Saint Germain en Laye, and supplied them liberally with money.

Basking in the sunshine of the royal favour, Stafford's pretensions and arrogance no longer knew any bounds. He at once assumed the royal arms of England as his device, and began to live in the most sumptuous fashion.

Having once formulated his claim, Stafford could not rest until he had made it good. His brain being once fired with the idea he must needs proceed at once to carry it into execution. About the beginning of April, 1557, he left Saint Germain for Paris, where he seems to have gone in order to interview the French king. He declared to Henry his intention of invading England, informed the king once more of his strong claims to the English throne, and endeavoured to induce him to render him assistance, for, he added, he was certain to find an army of followers in England. Henry endeavoured to dissuade him from the foolish project, showed him how impossible it was, and declared he would infallibly be beheaded if he persisted. The king finally declared that he would give him neither men nor money, although, on the other hand, Wotton asserts that Stafford received money to retain soldiers for his expedition.

From this interview Stafford went away discouraged, but desperate. He was determined at all hazards to carry his plan into execution. While still at Paris he came across a merchant who agreed to supply him with munitions of war and provisions for two hundred men. Still pushing on his preparations, he hired a boat to carry these stores to Rouen, and having collected a small company of twenty-five followers, and having loaded his vessel with as many halberds, he set sail down the river.

Arrived at Rouen, Stafford caused the drum to be beaten in the town in order to summon together those who were willing to share his fortunes. Whether persuaded by the eloquence of Stafford himself or by the arms of England which he displayed, or by the statements of Rybawde, Stafford's chief captain, who declared that the expedition was destined for Scotland, some four or five hundred men joined themselves to him. A motley crowd they must have been, of desperate and reckless adventurers of the worst character. Their nationality was also mixed, for Frenchmen and Scots were almost as

numerous as the English. With this troop of men, assembled anyhow, Stafford proceeded to Dieppe, where two ships awaited him. The one was loaded with artillery and stores, the other was destined for the larger portion of the troops Stafford was to take with him.

Preparations were pushed forward with such rapidity, that at night on Easter Sunday Stafford and his following put to sea. The command of his ship, the *Fleur de Lys*, and of the expedition was entrusted to John Rybawde, a man of whom Wotton said that "he feared him more than any of those who had recently fled out of England."

Stafford had purposely kept the destination of his expedition a secret. Probably no one but himself and Rybawde knew where they were going, not even the other members of the company. Wotton, who had information on almost all the other details, remained completely in the dark on this point. He was afraid that they meditated an attack upon Calais, but thought it likely that they might make a descent upon such places as Hull, Scarborough, or Dover. The situation seemed to him to be disquieting, for he thought that if Stafford gained a footing in England, all the English in France would probably be sent to his aid, while malcontents at home would infallibly join him. At Dieppe, on the other hand, Rybawde's version of the story obtained general credence, and it was universally believed that the *Fleur de Lys* and her consort were on their way to Scotland.

While these speculations were being made as to his whereabouts, Stafford was running across the North Sea, and before many hours had passed the news spread that he had taken possession of Scarborough Castle. This place seems to have been in his mind from the very beginning. During the first days of this month of April, one of his servants had brought a plan of the town to the French king, and had offered to make His Majesty master of it.

Several reasons may have combined to induce Stafford to

select this point of attack. Scarborough was then a strong castle, but negligently guarded by its captain, who was a kinsman of the servant referred to above. The port was large and capacious, affording anchorage for some fifty or sixty vessels of less than one hundred and fifty tons burthen. Moreover, since Stafford relied more on those who should rise to follow him than on the handful of men he had brought with him, a place so distant from the centre of government offered obvious and indisputable advantages. But more than all this, his mind probably reverted to the fourth Henry and the fourth Edward, who, landing in the same neighbourhood with a following equally insignificant, had in a few weeks rendered themselves masters of the whole realm, and kings of England.

Filled with such dreams as these, and already seeing himself seated upon the throne, Stafford put forth a proclamation, which he felt sure would rally the English people round him in a general revolt against the unpopular government of the queen. In this document he declared that Mary had forfeited her right to rule the country, because she had no sympathy with its people. By her unpopular marriage she had made herself altogether a Spaniard. He had therefore come to free his countrymen from the yoke of the Spaniards, and save them from their threatened slavery. From papers seized at Dieppe he now had in his possession proofs that twelve thousand Spaniards were about to take possession of Scarborough, and of twelve other places. He therefore called upon all Englishmen to aid him in vindicating their common liberties. But, alas for Thomas Stafford's dreams, for the awakening came swiftly and suddenly. The same despatches that contained the news of the fall of Scarborough Castle brought also the tidings of its recapture.

Among the first who heard of the arrival and vainglorious proclamation of Stafford was the Earl of Westmorland, a zealous friend of the government. This nobleman, hastily

collecting the militia of the neighbourhood, came suddenly upon the rebels and their self-styled king. The surprise was complete, and almost every man of the party, including Stafford himself, fell into the hands of the earl and his followers. Thus, as Noailles wrote in his disgust, Stafford had allowed himself to be taken in an impregnable castle by a band of raw peasants, ungeneraled and without artillery.

The retribution for treason came swiftly, and without mercy. The majority were executed on the spot, or close to it; Stafford only and four others were reserved for examination, and sent on to London. Rybawde apparently escaped, for his name is not recorded in the list of those executed, preserved for us by Machyn. On the 5th of May Stafford and his four companions arrived at the Tower of London. Here all courage forsook the unhappy man. In the vain hope of saving his life he promised to disclose some remarkable facts about the dealings of the French, and declared that he had been prompted to attack Scarborough by King Henry, who had been egging him on for the past three months. Later on, however, seeing that nothing could save his head, and prompted by nobler feelings, he spoke what must have been the truth: that he had talked of his project to King Henry and his Court, who would have nothing to do with it, so that in desperation he had undertaken the expedition alone. This resolute attitude Stafford maintained to the end. He had at last realized that no mercy could be expected from his judges. He obtained none; and on Friday, the 28th of March, he suffered the extreme penalty on Tower Hill. On the scaffold he addressed a few words to the assembled crowd. His unhappy position, he declared, arose from his disobedience to his father and mother. He died a good Englishman, and he had had no other design than to restore to his country her former freedom. As for the king and queen, he did not consider that he had wronged them, and therefore he refused to ask their pardon. These last words, if we may believe Noailles, so angered Mary

that she ordered Stafford's remains to be disinterred and quartered, a dishonour that had not been proposed in the original sentence.

When the news of Stafford's short success and tragic end reached France no surprise was felt. Dudley and his companions, who had never taken the matter seriously, cracked jokes at the expense of the "King of Scarborough," as they called him, and asked what else could be expected of a man who acted upon the advice of such a counsellor as "Lord High Treasurer" Stowell.

The King of France, however, realized that the matter was a serious one, and dreaded lest the war he had so long been seeking to escape should at last have become inevitable. He could not succeed in concealing his uneasiness and chagrin. Meeting Soranzo, the Venetian envoy, soon after the news had been reported, he drew him aside and said, "You must have heard what that fool Thomas Stafford has done in England. Before his departure he came to me in this very chamber where we now are, and, leaning against that balcony, he narrated to me these projects of his, praying and exhorting me to give him aid and counsel. But I told him frankly that he must expect neither the one nor the other from me, for I know very well the nature and habits of the English. So I bade him beware, and warned him that he would inevitably lose his head, if he persisted in these opinions of his. But he appeared quite bent upon carrying them into effect, telling me that he had a strong claim to the crown, and that he should find many followers in England. After he had left me, the first news I heard of him was that he had been captured and taken to London."

In this way Henry expressed his discontent and apprehension, for, although he did not actually say so in set terms, it is very evident that he felt ill at ease, and feared the worst from the English side. Nor was he deceived.

Beyond a doubt, the principal end Charles had in view

in marrying his son and heir to a woman so much older than himself was to secure the alliance of England in the great struggle against France. Although Philip was a man of peace rather than a warrior, he fully entered into these projects of his father, and hoped to draw England into the continental war in the interests of his family. So devoted a wife as Mary had no wish but to please her husband, in this respect as in others. However much her duty towards her subjects may have restrained the queen from plunging into a war in which they were in no way interested, this feeling, if it ever existed, rapidly disappeared. The hardly disguised assistance afforded by Henry to English rebels and conspirators, their princely reception and entertainment at court, of which the queen was perfectly aware, together with the suspected designs against Calais, goaded the queen to such a pitch of anger, that, on more than one occasion, she had forgotten the courteous behaviour of diplomacy, and had failed to conceal the fact that she knew all the French king was doing. As has been recorded above, during an interview with Noailles she once so far lost control over herself that her face became quite distorted with rage. At the time of the Dudley conspiracy the French ambassador thought it prudent to retire from Court for a time, in order to escape arrest as an aider and abettor of the rebels. The queen's anger against France was so evident that the Venetian envoy, Michiel, was of opinion that she was only deterred from declaring war by the slenderness of her purse, and because she knew that in this matter, as in many others, she could not rely upon the fidelity and allegiance of her subjects. The English people, indeed, guarded very jealously the maintenance of the neutrality of their country, and were very suspicious of the intentions of their sovereigns in this respect. They were determined to resist to the uttermost any attempt to employ English forces and resources in a war from which the country could gain no advantage, and one of the principal articles in the marriage treaty with Philip had been

designed in order to prevent the possibility of any such event.

While the temper of the English people remained in this state it would have been madness for the queen to have broken with France, however much she might have desired it. In this posture of affairs the invasion of Stafford came to her assistance, and did more to further her plans than any cunningly devised statecraft could have done. Although the invasion of Scarborough had tempted some few malcontents to revolt, they discovered themselves only to suffer from the vengeance of the government. But very different feelings possessed the large mass of the nation. For them the attempt of Stafford was an insult to our shores, carried out with the help of a foreign power. All the rabid hatred of the English against foreigners was excited by this ridiculous little expedition. The government suddenly found its hands enormously strengthened, and became indeed almost popular. The much-desired moment had at length come, and Mary hastened to take advantage of it. On the 1st of June, or little more than a month after Stafford had landed in the north, she declared war against the French king because he had harboured and assisted English rebels, and provoked the recent invasion of the English shores. Reasons so slight might induce a disinterested observer like the Venetian Surian to infer that the war had been undertaken solely in the interests of Philip. But the English, blinded by their passionate hatred of foreign interference, could not see this. After the affair of Scarborough, they were ready to believe all their governors told them about the French king and Dudley's plots, and if they did not take up the war with enthusiasm, they nevertheless considered it just and necessary for the defence of their country.

Reflection might bring them other counsels, but then it would be too late. With the sagacity of a clever ruler, Mary had seized upon the right moment in which to act, and had committed the nation to a war in which she hoped the combined

arms of Spain and England would win victories that would cover her much-loved husband with glory.

But now that war was actually raging between the two countries, what became of the English refugees in France? That is a question which cannot be answered from the evidence in our possession. As the year 1557 advanced, they began to feel that a war between England and France was approaching, and the prospect filled them with alarm. Many of them besought Wotton to intercede for them, if by any means they might obtain their pardon. Apparently their efforts proved unsuccessful, for no record of any such pardons exists. The refugees themselves disappear from our view. In the great whirl of a European war they are lost to sight, and their petty squabbles fade away in the presence of the far more important issues they had helped to raise.

But we need not regret this gap in our annals. Dudley and his companions are important only because of the tendencies they represent, and of the war they helped to kindle. Their personalities, apart from these points, are neither noble nor interesting, and it is therefore without a pang that we may leave their fate in the oblivion to which it has been consigned by history.

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CHAPTER V.

THE NEW SPIRIT IN ENGLAND.

While so much English thought and activity were being spent abroad, in so many various ways, it would be a mistake to suppose that these sentiments in religion and politics which we have followed among the exiles found no echo in England herself. In spite of years of Tudor absolutism and passive obedience, the ancient virtue was not yet dead, nor was the flame of liberty extinguished. At the same time, it must be admitted that the extreme men were those who went into exile, while those who remained behind were quieter and more submissive. Yet the diplomatists of the sixteenth century are unanimous in condemning the inconstancy of the English of their time, and their impatience under government. French, Venetian, and Spanish ambassadors all agree upon this point, and it is impossible not to accept such united testimony from such different sources. "The English are malignant, double-faced, easy to stir up, and fit for conspiracies," writes Renard. Noailles agrees with him in almost every particular, and adds that (like dogs) they are most ill-humoured during the hot weather. Michiel asserts that they could never support one government for any length of time together, and his fellow-countrymen, Soranzo and Surian, follow suit with similar observations. Such a consensus of opinion compels us to believe the accuracy of this evil picture of our ancestors even against our will.

But the restlessness of Englishmen in the sixteenth century may readily be accounted for. The baneful results of the Wars of the Roses still made themselves felt. The crown, having once stooped to mix in a private quarrel, was destined to suffer the penalty for many long years. Rebellion and civil war had grown out of this fatal mistake, and these noxious weeds of discord flourished exceedingly on our soil. Even the strong government of the Tudors had failed to root them out entirely. Henry VII. had had his Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, Henry VIII. had his pilgrimage of grace, and the reign of Edward VI., if not disturbed by such serious risings, had to meet the disturbances of 1549 and many local riots.

The leading part in all these revolts had been taken by the younger members of the lesser nobility and gentry. High-spirited and impatient, they had led the way, while their inferiors were ever ready to follow. The part they played during this period naturally exposed them to the vengeance of the government, and there were few families of this class that had not to deplore the death of one or more of their members on a charge of high treason. This state of affairs, which had existed in England for nearly one hundred years, is curiously and graphically illustrated by an anecdote related by a Mantuan gentleman named Annibale Litolfi. Walking one day with a couple of Englishmen, he asked one of them if any of his relations had ever been hung, drawn, and quartered. Upon the answer being given in the negative, the other whispered in Litolfi's ear, "Do not be astonished; he does not come of a noble family"!

In 1553, however, it must be acknowledged that the nation appeared far more ready to submit to a regular hereditary sovereign than it had been ever since the Yorkists began to make a bid for the throne. Fifty years of strong government, with an unintermittent succession of sovereigns of the same line, whose claim remained uncontested, had not passed in vain. After so many years of discord and rebellion, the people seemed

disposed to accept gratefully and gladly the legitimate heir to the throne. Mary's well-known Catholic proclivities were naturally distasteful to zealous Protestants. Those who were most compromised in the reign of her brother took an early opportunity of leaving the country, but the majority remained in England to welcome and obey their new sovereign, waving their objections to her religion as of less importance than the maintenance of the succession. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton has left us some lines which undoubtedly express correctly, though not elegantly, the sentiments of thousands of others. His effusion runs as follows—

> "And though I lik'd not the religion
> Which all her life Queen Mary had profest,
> Yet in my mind that wicked motion,
> Right heiress for to displace I did detest."

The consequence of the public state of mind gave a zest to the acclamations at Queen Mary's accession, hitherto unparalleled in the history of the nation. "The affection of the people evinced towards the queen at the beginning of her reign was such and so extraordinary that never was greater shown in that kingdom (England) towards any sovereign." Such is the testimony of the Venetian Michiel, an eye-witness of what he describes, than whom no one was more competent to make correct observation of the state of the public mind. What a different story he had to write a few years later, what a change from the acclamations of 1553 to the hatred, "not loud but deep," of 1557! Michiel spent almost all this time in England, he had every opportunity of noting this revolution of opinion, and of estimating its causes, and to his pregnant comments we shall have frequent recourse in the following pages.

How did it happen that Mary threw away so completely and so irremediably the popularity that met her when she mounted the throne? What causes contributed to darken her reign when the prospect had been so bright at its beginning?

She was not destitute of the talents of a ruler. She knew when to be firm and when to yield, she was a Tudor to the backbone, and possessed in a large degree the tact and address of her family. But she made one fatal blunder, irremediable in its nature, and tremendous in its consequences. On a vital question she persisted in acting contrary to the wishes of practically the whole of her subjects, and this one fatal act of obstinacy rendered all subsequent concessions useless. The unpopularity of the queen and the misfortunes of her reign all date from her marriage with Don Philip of Spain.

To this day Englishmen are repeatedly accused of an excessive insularity. In the sixteenth century this characteristic must have been even more strongly marked. The same witnesses who accuse our ancestors of fickleness and readiness to revolt, combine with equal unanimity to tax them with an excessive abhorrence of foreigners. "The English are naturally enemies of all aliens, but they hate the French and Spaniards most of all," wrote Annibale Litolfi in 1557. "The nobility are indeed courteous," said Soranzo, "but the people treat foreigners with very great arrogance and hostility. They think the profit gained by merchants is so much taken from them, and imagine they can live without foreign intercourse." Michiel declared that aliens could not possibly obtain justice in the courts of law, so great was the prejudice against them. Examples of a similar kind might easily be multiplied, but the above will suffice to illustrate my point.

What was then the anger, indignation, and alarm of the people when they heard that their queen intended to marry the Prince of Spain! How much they must have suffered to think that England was in danger of being added as a province to an all-grasping empire already grown too large!

As usual the young nobles and gentlemen of the country were the first to rise in opposition. We have seen how many of them crossed the sea to fight the Spaniard under the banner of the French king. Not a few of those who remained

behind would gladly have done likewise. The national hatred of the Spaniards rose to fever heat, and amounted almost to madness. It was in vain that Mary endeavoured to reconcile her subjects to the match by rich presents. The tact and sagacity of Philip in observing to the letter the marriage contract, and in curbing the arrogance of his Spanish followers, were likewise thrown away. He may have gained some friends for himself by this means, but none for his fellow-countrymen. Those who came with Egmont for the purpose of negotiating the marriage were so ill received that they resolved never to set foot in this country again. Wyatt revolted with no other purpose than to prevent the dreaded union, and the rebellion could only be crushed after the queen had promised to submit the question to Parliament. But his cause remained so popular that, when he was executed, numbers of people dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood.

But the ill will of the English did not end here. In the Low Countries, where men of both nations met together, there were continual brawls and riots between the young English nobles and their retainers, and the Spaniards. But in 1555, while Philip and his queen were staying at Hampton Court, even worse things happened. Affrays took place between the retainers of both sovereigns with startling frequency. So serious were they that several persons on either side received serious hurts and some had been killed. Worsted in almost every encounter, the rage and madness of the Englishmen knew no bounds. Exasperated beyond measure at some wounds received by one of their companions, they resolved to be avenged. On Corpus Christi day matters came to a head. Assembling in great force, they marched towards the Church where the Spaniards were all collected in order to celebrate the festival. More than double the number of their adversaries, it was feared that the English would massacre them on the spot. Men feared a repetition of the Sicilian Vespers. What might have happened it is impossible to guess. Fortunately some

intrepid but unnamed persons threw themselves in front of the irate procession, and by their arguments succeeded, though with the greatest difficulty, in persuading their angry countrymen to go quietly home.

The danger had been sufficiently imminent, for if the English had carried their purpose into execution, the consequences must have been serious and far reaching. Philip recognized the peril of the situation. He at once hastened to issue a proclamation declaring that any Spaniard who ventured to use his weapon should lose his right hand, while any one who should cry "Spain" was to be promptly hanged.

The danger in this instance had been avoided, but the evil situation remained unremedied. Men's minds were in a dangerous state of tension, and it seemed as if a very small push would suffice to upset the balance of the government. The air was full of treasons and conspiracies, and as the queen could rely on no man, she suspected all.

The opposition to the Spanish marriage was no less general than intense. Even some of the most devoted adherents of the queen were against it. Gardiner resisted as long as he could, and only at the last moment did he give an unwilling consent. Sir Edward Hastings, the Master of the Horse, and the queen's most devoted partisan, vehemently advised her to abandon the project. Even those who had supported the alliance had misgivings. Paget proposed to neutralize the evil consequences by uniting Elizabeth and Courtenay, and causing them to be proclaimed heirs. Sir John Mansone, upon receiving some slight from Philip, bitterly exclaimed, "If he treats those who supported him thus, what will he do to those who have resisted him?"

Although Mary persisted in her intention to marry Don Philip, it may easily be imagined that she did so at the expense of her tranquillity and peace of mind. Her brain was haunted by visions of her discontented and rebellious subjects. In June, 1554, while awaiting the arrival of Philip, she so dreaded a

rising in the capital, which she had recently deceived by false promises, that she placed a garrison of four thousand troops there. The continual fear of conspirators, who were always at work, made her life a burden to her. At Hampton Court, if we may credit Noailles, besides her ordinary guard, she caused twenty-five to thirty gentlemen to sleep in the presence-chamber close to her own apartments. Twice every night this guard extraordinary made the tour of the whole palace.

It is a remarkable fact, however, that none of the numerous conspiracies formed during the reign attained to serious dimensions. Although Wyatt had at one moment appeared dangerous, he had been easily crushed in the end. The Frenchman, De Selva, had indeed foreseen this from the beginning, and declared that if the rebels could find no leader, their revolt would be a fire of straw—of no duration. This is what literally happened. One by one, as the insurrections of Wyatt, Carew, Dudley, and Stafford crackled into a flame, they were promptly and easily stamped out. It is a consolation to us as Englishmen, however, to know that all resistance was not so easily crushed, and the spirit of liberty still made her presence felt in the country. As usual in England, the most effective and durable opposition to the government was made in a perfectly constitutional manner, and by perfectly constitutional means.

The system of trial by jury, though condemned as vicious by the Venetian Soranzo, proved then, as it did subsequently, a valuable protection for the liberty of the subject. In April, 1556, when the government, in its alarm at the formidable plot of Dudley and Assheton, was making arrests far and wide, convictions could only be obtained against two persons, Sir John Throckmorton and Sir Thomas Uvedale, governor of the Isle of Wight. Earlier in the reign an even more notable example of the independence of the juries had occurred. This was the case of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whose verses we have quoted above. He was arrested on a charge of treason, and conspiracy to place Courtenay and Elizabeth on the throne.

After a long trial, in which the Crown did its utmost to procure a conviction, the jury acquitted the prisoner. Mary was furious. Throckmorton, though pronounced innocent, was thrown into the Tower. The offending jurors were imprisoned and heavily fined. But they had won a great victory. The intended victim had been saved. Mary dared not go further; the people already murmured ominously at her violation of the law, and shortly after Throckmorton was set free.

But more important even than the attitude of the juries were the growing signs of the awakening of Parliament from its long lethargy. The rapid growth of our free institutions under the House of Lancaster is one of the commonplaces of history. No less so is the eclipse under which they suffered after the triumph of the Yorkists. With the Lancastrian revival under Henry VII. Parliaments were again called, and made to transact the business of the kingdom, but they were kept in complete subjection to the will of the sovereign. Precisely the same system prevailed under Henry VIII., who on one remarkable occasion went out of his way to confirm an important privilege of the Lower House in person. Still Parliament remained under royal control through the employment of a number of different devices. The sovereigns made use of them, says Michiel, in a celebrated passage, "more to cloak by this appearance their own desires, and to rid themselves of fatigue and inconvenience in consultations on doubtful and detrimental matters concerning perilous affairs, rather than to resign any power they possess." This passage, written towards the end of the reign, describes a state of affairs that had already begun to pass away. Our modern historians, following Michiel, have treated the Parliaments of this reign almost as a blank. Believing that their annals contained nothing but a record of passive obedience to the royal commands from beginning to end, they have passed them over very summarily as insipid and uninteresting. But this is to make a great mistake. It is during the reign of Mary that the revival of the

old parliamentary spirit begins, a spirit that in a few years was destined to become active and aggressive.

During the short reign of Mary no less than five Parliaments were summoned to meet at Westminster : one in 1553, two in 1554, one in 1555, and the last not till 1558. The long interval between the summoning of the fourth and fifth Parliaments, an interval of two years and three months, is exceedingly significant. But this is to anticipate. A subject of such importance and complexity demands orderly and chronological treatment, and I propose to take the history of each of the Marian Parliaments one by one in the order in which they followed each other.

Almost as soon as Mary had mounted the throne she seems to have determined to carry out the changes in religion she had so much at heart by means of Parliament. Though the emperor advised her to the contrary, the queen very wisely persisted in her resolution, and one of the first acts of her reign was to summon the two Houses to meet at Westminster on the 5th of October, 1553. The care taken to manage the elections met with conspicuous success. The queen had a Parliament upon whose obedience and tractability she could thoroughly rely. It was packed with Crown nominees, Soranzo declared, and therefore the proposed changes in religion seemed likely to be passed without any difficulty. Upon the first day of the session Gardiner, as Lord Chancellor, delivered the queen's speech. He dwelt upon the necessity of unity in religion, and submitted that this was only possible by a return to Catholicism. The queen therefore asked her faithful subjects to repeal the Protestant enactments of the two previous reigns, and thus help to bring about the re-establishment of the old religion.

The Commons, however, did not exhibit quite so much complaisance as had been expected of them. When one member proposed a review of the laws of Edward VI., the motion was almost immediately put on one side. The reaction

against the *régime* of the two previous reigns, however, made itself felt in the Lower House, although not perhaps in the way the queen intended. At one blow the Commons struck out of the statute book all the additional treasons that had been invented by the ingenuity of Henry VIII., expressing at the same time much righteous indignation against their author, and the definition of treason was confined within the limits of the Act 25, Edward III.

Meanwhile the religious question, thus neglected by the Lower Chamber, was taken up by the Lords. Thanks undoubtedly to the presence of the spiritual peers, the queen's wishes met here with a more favourable reception. No difficulties were raised, the Protestant system was doomed, and all the acts of Edward VI. about religion were repealed together. A bill to this effect was sent down to the Commons to obtain their approval. But even then the Lower House did not facilitate matters. There must have been an opposition party of no mean force and influence, for the debate on this question lasted six days. At the end of that time the government party triumphed. The recommendations of the Lords passed the House, which added that from the 20th of December following no other form of Divine Service should be used but that in force during the last years of the reign of Henry VIII.

So far all had gone fairly well. Although the Commons might have exhibited more alacrity in carrying out the wishes of the queen, yet they had complied with her request in the end, and the counter reformation might be considered as fairly commenced. But at this moment appeared a question which at once put an end to the harmony between the Court and Parliament.

The Spanish marriage was being freely talked about, and the prospect had created much alarm even in this assembly of picked loyalists. Whatever else they might be, they were all Englishmen, and shared the hopes and fears and prejudices of their countrymen. They felt that the proposed match would

not do, that their liberty was menaced, as well as the independence of their country, and they resolved to protest. They therefore deputed the speaker and twenty members to wait upon the queen, to humbly request her in the name of her faithful Commons not to marry a foreigner. At the same time they were anxious that she should take a husband, and hoped she would choose an Englishman. But the queen flew into a passion before the speaker had finished his discourse. It must indeed have been hard to hear such language from the House that had been packed with such care, and upon whose fidelity so much reliance had been placed. Mary interrupted the speaker's discourse with true Tudor spirit and haughtiness. "For that you desire to see us married," she said, "we thank you. Your desire to dictate to us the consort whom we shall choose we consider somewhat superfluous. The English Parliament has not been wont to use such language to its sovereigns, and when private persons on such matters suit their own tastes, sovereigns may reasonably be allowed to choose whom they prefer." After a few more words in the same strain, she dismissed the astonished deputies, and a few days later (December 6) Parliament was dissolved after a session of a little over two months.

In spite of the trouble taken to secure its submissiveness, this Parliament had shown a spirit not unworthy of the glorious traditions of its predecessors. The reduction of the number of treasons is of itself sufficient to distinguish it honourably, although most of the additions of Henry VIII. certainly had to do with the changes in religion. In the affair of the Spanish marriage, although they were undoubtedly grieved at the construction the queen put upon their petition, they had acted with independence and worthily. Even in matters of religion they had not done nearly all that had been expected of them. After much delay and debate they had only replaced the Prayer-book by the Mass. Mary could not possibly rest satisfied with such a state of affairs. She still

retained the title of Supreme Head of the English Church, while the claims of the Pope were unrecognized. More important than all, the financial side of the question, the annates, and the disposition of Church property, all fruitful subjects of controversy, had not been touched upon.

The relatively poor success of her first attempt did not discourage Mary. Almost immediately after the dissolution of her first Parliament she caused writs to be issued for another. The new assembly met on the 2nd of April, 1554. This time the efforts of the royal officers had proved more successful. The Parliament was as obsequious as could have been desired, and completely justifies the remarks of Michiel, quoted above. As on the previous occasion, Gardiner made a great speech at the opening of the session. He began by saying that it was absolutely necessary to legislate for the surety of the state of the queen, and for the maintenance of order throughout the realm. The recent insurrection and the widespread discontent made this imperative. The queen's title to reign had been impugned and the claims of other persons advanced. He therefore proposed that she should be declared sovereign by right of heritage according to the old formula.

The next subject of importance was the proposed marriage with Don Philip of Spain. Surely it was the irony of fate that had chosen the chancellor to advocate this. He certainly put forward the case in a sufficiently lame way. Two lines of argument were followed, the first that of the queen herself, that no subject, however poor and miserable, did not possess the right of choosing a husband for herself. The other was that, to secure the succession, and to put an end to dangerous uncertainty, the queen ought to have children of her own to succeed as her undoubted heirs.

Neither of these arguments rest upon a particularly sound basis, and it is not worth while to go into the numerous objections that might be raised against them. The Parliament at any rate mildly and obediently listened to the chancellor's

oration, and then proceeded to do all that was required of it. The speaker introduced a bill to declare that the royal prerogative belonged as much to a queen as to a king. The Spanish marriage was accepted without discussion. All that remained to be done was to define the position of the new consort. This task was undertaken by the Lords. How thoroughly they performed their work is well known. Nothing could be more strict than the terms of the treaty which limited the powers and titles of Philip. He was to have no nominal share in the government of the country, no foreigner could occupy any public office in England, for they were to be filled by Englishmen alone. The country was to be dragged into no foreign war in the interests of its new king or his dominions. In fine, the only chance of any power being wielded in England by the Spanish prince was the prospect of the regency if the queen should die before her unborn heir came to years of discretion.

All this, however, was the work of the Upper House. The Commons took no initiative, and simply endorsed the propositions of the Lords. They accepted the arrangements as to the Spanish marriage, almost without discussion. The bill came to them on the 10th, and they returned it on the 12th. This, and the passing of some Bills of Attainder, likewise sent down by the Lords, finished the work of the session. On the 5th of May the queen dissolved one of the most colourless and uninteresting Parliaments that ever existed. The Lords alone, by their action on the Spanish marriage, had redeemed it from absolute and unrelieved inanity.

After this very poor exhibition on the part of the Commons, it is surprising to notice the astonishing progress made in the two succeeding Parliaments. The first of these was summoned for the 11th of November, 1554. The queen adopted all the usual measures in order to secure a loyal and obedient House of Commons, directing the sheriffs to return members of "the wise, grave, and Catholic sort." It was the more necessary that

this should be done, since the new Parliament was destined to complete the work of the Catholic restoration, left unfinished by the Parliament of 1553. The queen's orders were punctually executed, and the large majority of the members held the desired opinions, and were ready to do as they were told. At the opening of the session Pole made a speech upon the changes in religion. Thereupon the Houses of Parliament announced their submission to the Holy See, and expressed their contrition for past disobedience. But this was not all ; the Acts against the authority of the Pope were repealed, and the ancient statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. for the burning of heretics were revived. Although there is nothing in these measures of themselves to indicate any approach to a spirit of independence, yet this Parliament of 1554 is remarkable from the fact that the Commons begin to take the initiative. Hitherto nearly all the chief Acts passed by Parliament had been first introduced in the Upper Chamber. Thus the Lords had introduced the measure to repeal the Acts of Edward VI. dealing with religion, as well as the various Acts of Attainder required by the Crown. The all-important marriage treaty with Philip was altogether their work, and the Commons simply accepted their settlement of the question. But at the end of 1554 an important change had already taken place. Whether it was owing to the frequent summons of Parliament, or to other causes at which we can only guess, the Lower House had visibly grown in importance since the last meeting of the two Chambers. The Lords retire to the background, and the Commons come forward in their place, and introduce the measures for the revival of the ancient statutes against heretics. Another feature of this Parliament is the apparition of a regular opposition to the proposals of the government. Thirty-seven members, disagreeing with the attitude of their colleagues on the religious question, walked out of the House in a body, and refused to take any further part in the proceedings. Although an action of this kind can

rarely prove successful, and is a sign of weakness rather than strength, yet the government considered the matter of sufficient importance to take it up. The Crown itself interfered, and cast the seceding members into prison. Six burgesses, intimidated by this action, agreed to go back to the House; but among the others there was a man of a very different spirit, courageous and firm in the defence of what he considered to be right. This was Plowden, a lawyer of no mean ability and reputation. In a spirit that seems like an anticipation of Coke, he contested the power of the Crown to deal with such cases. If there had been any irregularity, any breach of the law, he contended that the case belonged solely to the jurisdiction of Parliament, and that in meddling therewith the Crown had committed a breach of privilege.

Language so firm and bold naturally brought down upon its author the vengeance of the queen. The unfortunate Plowden was kept in close confinement, where, like Sir John Eliot after him, he might have ended his days, had not the death of Mary and the dawn of a better reign ultimately set him at liberty.

If the opposition on the question of burning heretics and submitting to the Pope had only been formed of a handful of between thirty and forty members, it speedily became a powerful majority when it was proposed to restore to the Church the property that had been taken from it by Henry VIII. Mary had set her heart upon the accomplishment of this object, and upon the destruction of the work of her father. But Parliament was intractable. A strongly supported petition, presented by Lords and Commons alike, many of whom were materially interested, begged the king and queen to leave this matter untouched. The queen saw it would be unwise to press the matter, and, with praiseworthy wisdom, agreed to allow those who held Church property to keep it. The Papal Legate, though sorely against his will, felt obliged to admit that the queen had done right. In the bill that Parliament hastened to pass, confirming the rights of those

who held Church property, he refused to countenance an amendment that proposed to insert a clause restricting the possession to those who could retain such property without any scruple of conscience. After this notable victory, Parliament was dissolved on the 16th of January, after having sat, like the first one of the reign, for rather more than two months.

Although the large mass of Church property that had been alienated during the previous reigns was thus irretrievably lost, devout Catholics did not yet despair of saving some precious fragments from the general wreck. Almost before the dissolution of Parliament Pole had approached the king and queen, and persuaded them that, although they had allowed their subjects to keep what they held, yet the Crown itself ought conscientiously to resign its own share. Mary herself was perfectly ready to forfeit all that she held, but as the question was a complicated one, and as it would be necessary to discover the general opinion on the matter, she referred the whole matter to a committee of the Privy Council. During the spring and summer of 1555 this select body devoted much time to its task. The work was no light one, and the prospect of danger loomed large and ominous on the horizon. Public opinion was in a state of dangerous excitement. In May appeared a dialogue written against the Catholic Religion and the queen's government, lampooning the sovereigns, their council, and the Houses of Parliament alike. This publication became so popular and sold so well, that, in London alone, the Lord Mayor, who forbad its circulation, collected a thousand copies.

The members of the council themselves, though undoubtedly specially selected, could not agree, and many of them were opposed to the intended renunciation. Evidently no very sweeping measure could be introduced, for otherwise the opposition would become general.

At last the special committee submitted its proposals to the sovereign. They were in the main as follows : that firstfruits

and tenths should be restored to the clergy, but that the lay part of what had been monastic property should continue to belong to the Crown. It only remained to obtain the sanction of Parliament for this arrangement. Accordingly writs were issued to summon the two Houses to meet on the 21st of October.

As usual, great pains were taken to manage the election. Not only did the sheriffs receive the usual intimation, but, during the course of her reign, Mary had enfranchised fourteen pocket boroughs returning twenty-one members. But in spite of all precautions, it soon became evident that the new House of Commons was not one upon which the queen could rely for implicit obedience. Whether the important business lately entrusted to Parliament had increased its consideration, or whether the opposition lately shown by Plowden and his associates had reminded Englishmen that the House of Commons had once been the recognized organ for the expression of the opinion of the nation; whatever may have been the cause, it is evident that a seat in the Lower House had come to be a prize worth trying for, and the new Chamber was filled with the younger members of noble and gentle families.

But this was the very class which throughout the reign had been foremost in opposition to the government. Not content with fomenting rebellion at home and in weaving conspiracies abroad, these active young nobles must needs come to confront the queen in her counsels. Such a thing, declares Michiel, had not been seen in Parliament for years.

Most of these gentlemen were known to be lukewarm towards the Catholic religion, if they were not actually opposed to it. They were certain to be more daring and independent than the timid bourgeois who had predominated in the previous assemblies, and altogether it seemed fairly certain that the government measures would not pass without great difficulty. Mary herself felt anxious and uneasy, and wrote to Philip that

many violent opposition members had been returned to the new Parliament.

At this moment of danger the queen lost a servant she could ill afford to spare. As on former occasions, Gardiner had opened the session with a speech, in which he sketched the programme of work the Crown wished to have performed. This time he had only done so from a sense of duty, and at a great effort. For some time past he had been suffering from a grievous illness, and a few days after his appearance at Westminster he expired.

With all his faults Gardiner had been a devoted and faithful servant to Queen Mary. In Parliament he was simply invaluable, for his personal authority and his long and wide experience had given him an influence that none of his contemporaries possessed. The queen felt she had lost the man who was more than ever needful to her at this moment, and she looked forward uneasily to the dark and uncertain future.

Although Gardiner in his last speech had only spoken about supply, the House of Commons knew perfectly well that it would sooner or later be called upon to consider the question of the cession of Church property. It was with this consciousness that they approached the subject of supply. The amount asked for consisted of a subsidy and two-fifteenths, or similar to what had been granted in the first year of the reign. The opposition at once began the attack. The time was ill chosen, they contended, to augment the taxes. The people were already heavily enough burdened, and at the present moment were suffering from a great scarcity. Wheat had risen to five times its ordinary value. If the crown was actually in need of supplies, why—and here they showed the cloven hoof—did the queen propose to give up such an important source of revenue as the Church property?

However, in spite of much opposition, and after an animated debate, the subsidy and the two-fifteenths were voted by a

large majority. The opposition had probably only raised their voices in order to attack the more important measure. They were destined very shortly to give the lie to the sneer of Michiel, who wrote home that all these objections would end in words, "for neither in this nor in any government measure do they dare to contradict the queen." Mary, however, understood their plan, and endeavoured to frustrate it. While accepting the subsidy she graciously remitted the fifteenths out of consideration for the prevailing scarcity and the consequent distress. Evidently in making this concession she hoped to affect the minds of the Commons more favourably towards her larger project. While both government and opposition regarded nothing but this central object, and put aside everything else as secondary and subordinate, it was manifest that a great struggle was approaching.

Before this became imminent, however, the government party won a victory in the House. The last Parliament had been made notorious by reason of the secession of Plowden and his friends. As the question had given rise to much discussion, and since the law on the subject did not seem to be so well established as was desirable, the old Acts requiring the presence of the knights and burgesses at Westminster while Parliament was in session were revived and carried through the House.

The victory was one that did not cost much to the opposition. If they did not like to see Plowden and his associates thus condemned, they might congratulate themselves that they were too strong to need the adoption of the tactics he had adopted, and they might hope to win on the all-important question by tenaciously assisting at every session of the House.

Upon occasion they knew well enough how to meet and vanquish their adversaries. The Parliament was not very old before a cunningly devised attack was made upon the opposition. I have already pointed out that the new House contained

many members of the younger nobility and gentry, and these consistently and vigorously opposed the government. No one recognized this so well as the queen's party, and they therefore introduced a measure that none should be elected to represent a county or a borough except persons who were natives of, and actually resident in, such county or borough. By this means they hoped to prevent the election of their opponents in the future.

The opposition, however, had their reply ready. In their turn they also introduced a measure. This was designed to prevent any office-holder, pensioner, or stipendiary from sitting in the House. Apparently the parties were so equally balanced that they feared that both these measures might become law. Accordingly, as the only way out of this difficulty in a situation that threatened the destruction of both sides of the House, the one by the other, each side abandoned its bill.

Although these proposals met with such an untimely fate they are interesting from more than one point of view. They show us where the strength of each party lay; they explain how it came about that so many of the nobility had been returned to Parliament, and they suggest to us, to some extent, the way in which the queen got together and controlled her majority. Moreover, they were not so ephemeral as it then appeared. Both measures were revived in after years, each ultimately found its place on the Statute Book, only, however, to disappear into oblivion as a dead letter, impossible to carry into practice because contrary to the spirit of the constitution.

Although these party squabbles undoubtedly occupied a great deal of time, yet the government measures naturally demanded the chief attention, and it was round these that the dispute raged fiercest. They were only two, but they were of very great importance. The first dealt with the disposition of the Church property belonging to the crown, the other

proposed the recall of the absentees on pain of forfeiture of their goods.

Both bills were intimately bound up with the religious question, and contained fruitful matter for controversy. The more important of them was the long-expected one dealing with Church property. Both Houses set to work on this measure, but in a very hostile spirit. It soon became evident that the bill would only pass after suffering several modifications, if, indeed, it survived at all.

Mary resolved at once to take decisive action. In direct violation of the constitution and in contempt of precedent, she summoned sixty members of both Houses, but principally Lords, to meet her at her palace (St. James's ?) on the 23rd of November. When they had come together the queen addressed them in a short speech. She had been preserved by God, she said, in order to restore the Catholic faith in England. This, by God's grace, she had successfully accomplished, but the work yet remained incomplete. For its final accomplishment two things were necessary, namely, that she should resign (1) the firstfruits and tenths as well as the ecclesiastical supremacy ; and (2) the revenues of the abbeys and monasteries appropriated by Henry VIII. She therefore desired them to complete the work.

When she had finished, a fiery and impetuous member of the House of Commons made as if he would answer her, being anxious no doubt to refute the queen's statements. But his colleagues, more alive to the solemnity of the occasion, and anxious at least to keep up appearances, forced him to keep silence, and would not allow him to interrupt the harmony of the proceedings.

Freed from the danger of this interruption, Cardinal Pole took up the queen's theme, and endeavoured at once to prove that the country would suffer no loss by the proposed change, and to tempt the gentry by the hope of gain for their families. The restitution of the Church property, he asserted, would free

the Crown from the obligation of paying some £25,000 as pensions to persons who had been dispossessed of their goods. The new distribution would establish eight hundred rectories, in which the cadet members of distinguished families would find employment, honour, and emolument.

The injunctions of the queen and the arguments of Pole did all that was desired to further the passage of the bill through Parliament. The Lords, who had at one time been very bitter against it, carried it unanimously, and without amendment. Only one or two of their number ventured to dissent, and these did not think it worth while to challenge a division.

In the Commons things did not pass quite so easily. The opposition party remained as strong as ever, and the supporters of the government feared a defeat even after the action taken by the queen. The debate was long and animated, and yet no conclusion could be arrived at. At last, on the 2nd of December, both parties concurred in the appointment of a committee of ten members to meet six of the Upper House and discuss the bill together. This committee apparently came to an agreement on the same day, when they must have reported results to the House. At daybreak on the following morning the final debate on the question began in the House of Commons. Of what actually took place we can only form a very vague idea. The chief argument urged by the opposition appears to have been this, that if the bill was passed they would be creating a dangerous precedent, very prejudicial to holders of property. The other side seems to have relied upon craft rather than argument. The debate lasted from daybreak until three o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole of this time the doors of the House were closed, no one being allowed to go out or to come in. This proceeding, on the face of it, looks very extraordinary. Judging by this, and by hints thrown out afterwards, we may surmise that the government party kept some of the members from voting, either by excluding

them from the House altogether or by working upon their fears. In the end they seem to have snatched a division, and, the moment being favourable, the bill passed by a majority of sixty-three, 183 voting for and 120 against.

Victory rested but a short time with the government. The most important item on their programme had indeed become law, but there remained another and hardly less important bill for the consideration of Parliament. At the opening of the session two measures had been submitted to the Houses; the one, dealing with the Church property, was at length settled; the other, demanding the recall of the absentees, had not yet come up for serious consideration.

So much space has already been devoted to the refugees and exiles, both in the empire and in France, that it is unnecessary at this point to enter into details on that subject. The Crown, driven to exasperation by their heresy and treason, real or supposed, only demanded an opportunity for revenge.

The bill on this question was introduced in the House immediately after the other had been disposed of. The government gave as its reason that the English abroad did nothing but stir up enemies to the country on the Continent, while they fomented discontent at home. They therefore proposed by this new measure to require all absentees from the kingdom to return home within the space of four months on pain of forfeiture of their goods.

As the bill originally stood it represented undoubtedly what the queen really wanted. But the determined character of the opposition, and the extreme difficulty in getting the other bill through the House, induced the government to make considerable modifications in the measure. In the new bill the property of the absentees was only to be forfeited during the time of their absence from the country, and their children or other heirs were to suffer no detriment in any way.

Manifestly in its altered form the measure had lost nearly all its severity. But the opposition did not receive it in any

better spirit on that account. They demanded why the queen should wish to deprive her subjects of the liberty of going to and from the country, and considered the proposition as a direct attack upon the personal freedom of all Englishmen.

The debate on the bill waxed very hot, and the war of words was sharply waged on both sides. Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse and a staunch loyalist, engaged in such a warm discussion with Sir George Howard, brother of the Lord High Admiral, that they almost came to blows. The principal part in the opposition, however, was played by one Sir Anthony Kingston, member for Gloucestershire. He had made a reputation for ardent Protestantism, but he enjoyed anything but an enviable notoriety. In 1549 he had evinced great activity in suppressing the rebellion, and after it was over he made a judicial tour in the west that must have been a sort of anticipation of the cruelties of Jeffries. It is related that upon this occasion he dined with the Mayor of Bodmin, and almost immediately after caused the unhappy magistrate to be hung on a gallows he had himself prepared. The Mayors of Clevedon and St. Ives fared no better at his hands, if report be true. His private was no better than his public life. In 1552 he was brought before Bishop Hooper on a charge of adultery, convicted, and fined £500. In the February of the present year (1555), however, he had accompanied the worthy prelate on his way to the stake, heard his last words, and witnessed his end. From this moment Kingston seems to have become a changed man, although his high and restless spirit had not abandoned him.

On the last day of the debate on the Absentee Bill he came forward as the chief of his party. The majority of the House was manifestly opposed to the measure, but they lacked organization, and many probably hesitated before they resolved to vote against the known wishes of the queen, Speaker Pollard and the government members realizing perfectly well the posture of affairs. They felt anxious about the safety of the

bill, and were watching for an opportunity to snatch a division. At this moment Kingston and a few of his friends went and posted themselves at the door of the House, in order to prevent any one going out. From his post of vantage Sir Anthony called out that he did not intend to allow this bill to be dealt with as the last had been. The government had carried the Church Property Bill against the conscience of many of the members, by means of continual delays. He therefore insisted upon an immediate division. The opposition rallied at his voice, and at once became invincible. The government, no longer able to resist, accepted the inevitable, and suffered an expected defeat. The Absentee Bill was thrown out by the House.

So hot had men's minds become over the matter that disputes continued even after the voting was finished. The government members felt nettled at their defeat in proportion as the opposition were elated. Shortly after, at the table of the Earl of Pembroke, the matter was sharply debated between the earl himself and one of his favourite gentlemen, named Sir John Perrott, the latter being on Kingston's side. The earl became so enraged that he dismissed Sir John from his service on the spot, although he had been one of his closest companions. Many of the earl's friends, however, considered Sir John to be in the right, and deserted the earl together with him.

Meanwhile Mary, dissembling her anger, had given the royal consent in the usual form to the acts of the present Parliament, which she proceeded to dissolve. Shortly after, however, she caused Kingston and one or two others to be arrested and thrown into the Tower for licentious language used in the House. The imprisonment did not last long. Sir Anthony made his submission, received a pardon, and was released on the 23rd of December of the same year. But so far from being more submissive his enmity to the government had become far more intense and implacable. "They have put me

in prison for their pleasure," he is said to have exclaimed, "but so shall they never do more." The government continued to watch his movements with suspicion. Early in the following year Kingston was arrested for complicity in Dudley's plot to rob the exchequer and to set Elizabeth on the throne. But he died at Cirencester on his way to prison, on the 14th of April, 1556. According to Michiel his death was caused by the stone. But various surmises were made then and have been made since, some saying that he perished by his own hand, others that he was poisoned by order of the queen.

Her late experiences made Mary unwilling to summon another Parliament for some time. As disaffection increased day by day such a step might have been dangerous in the extreme if succeeding Houses of Commons should prove the mirrors of opinion in the country, and become even more bold and outspoken than the last. Thus, though during the first two years of her reign she had summoned no less than four Parliaments, the succeeding period of almost the same length passed without any meeting of the national representatives. At last, owing to the demands of the French War upon the treasury, the Crown found itself in urgent need of money. A new Parliament was summoned, and met on the 20th of January, 1558. The session proved a very barren one. Whether through opposition or slothfulness, no measure of any importance was carried. The only bill that calls for notice was one to regulate the licensing of books, and that had not reached its third reading ere the death of the queen, on the 17th of November, dissolved Parliament and put an end to further proceedings.

Thus ends the parliamentary history of the reign. It is a history full of interest, for it contains the germs of so much of the life and vitality that were to flourish in the future. The whole record is one of steady progress. We see that the Commons have gained immensely in power and consideration. Not only did the Lower House begin to take the initiative in

matters of the first importance, but a seat in it had become a coveted prize, an honour worthy of exciting the emulation of young nobles and gentlemen. Although it still remained true, as Michiel said, that no one could oppose the will of the sovereign in Parliament except at great danger to himself, yet in this reign and for the first time men were found ready to run all risks and venture their personal liberty and even life itself in the defence of the freedom of their country. Plowden and Kingston may be considered as the first of a long line of heroes who struggled for the triumph of parliamentary government, and as the spiritual fathers of the Stricklands, Wentworths, Eliots, Hampdens, and Pyms of a later date. As such they have an immense claim to our eternal esteem and honour.

Before Mary expired the members of her last Parliament took a step that redeems them from the reproach of idleness and inactivity. Choosing a deputation from both Houses, they sent them to the dying queen's bedside to ask her if she consented to the will of her father being executed. Mary feebly consented, and a record of her assent was at once taken. Elizabeth had at length become officially recognized as the rightful heiress of her sister.

The young princess had long been the cynosure of all who wished for a better government, and of the ultra-national party. Ever since Mary had discarded Courtenay and elected to marry Philip, men had hoped to marry her younger sister to the rejected earl, and cause the young couple to be proclaimed heirs to the throne, if indeed they did not wish them to assume the reins of government immediately. In this way Elizabeth had won an extraordinary popularity, which the annoyances and persecutions she had to suffer only helped to increase. In particular had she become the heroine of the young nobles and gentry, who hoped that she would one day become the English-hearted queen of a united and patriotic England.

But Mary watched her sister with jealous and wrathful eyes. She had indeed many reasons for hating the daughter of the

woman who had supplanted her mother. But now that the queen saw her sister set up in opposition to her by the turbulent and disaffected party among her subjects, her hatred deepened more and more. With Renard at the queen's elbow, prompting her to make away with her sister as a dangerous centre for conspiracies, Elizabeth's position was indeed a perilous one. She would probably have had but short shrive had not help come from an unexpected quarter.

Philip had never cherished much affection for Mary, who was much older than himself. Recognizing soon after his marriage that the queen was suffering from an illness that could not leave her many more years of life, he at once began to think about the future. In order to retain his influence over England it would be necessary for him to make another marriage. Two candidates were in presence for the succession ; the one was Mary Queen of Scots, who was entirely under French influence, and therefore quite out of the question for him ; the other was Elizabeth.

Towards the young princess Philip therefore turned his attention, and over her he threw his protecting wing. He did this the more willingly because he might reasonably hope by this attitude to share some of Elizabeth's popularity. At the same time it looked as if Philip was going about to undermine Elizabeth's influence. In turn he proposed to marry her to the Duke of Piedmont, Don Carlos, the Duke of Savoy, or one of his cousins, the Archdukes Frederick and Charles. Fully conscious as he must have been of the unpopularity incurred by his wife in marrying a foreigner, Philip surely had some ulterior motive in these propositions. May we not justly suppose that he hoped to deprive Elizabeth of her power by taking away her chief title to the public esteem ? But Elizabeth had learnt wisdom from observation and hard experience. She refused, one after the other, the husbands her too eager brother-in-law kept providing for her, and repeatedly declared that she preferred to remain single. She

accepted, with a quick intelligence, the *rôle* her partisans had selected for her. She determined to be such a sovereign as the most patriotic Englishman could desire, thoroughly national in every branch of her policy. Assured of a great and wide-spread popularity, and perfectly conscious that the great bulk of the nation was impatiently awaiting her accession to the throne, Elizabeth could afford patiently to abide her time.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne she was greeted with loud and almost universal acclamation. The consent of the late queen to the dispositions of her father's will had only put the official seal to the popular desires. The heart of the nation went out towards its new sovereign. Yet, great as was the enthusiasm, it was probably very little greater than that which greeted Mary on her accession. In the darkness of her subsequent unpopularity we run some danger of losing sight of this fact. Yet the testimony of Michiel affords undoubted evidence as to its accuracy. If I may repeat a quotation already given above, "The affection," he wrote, "shown towards her universally at the beginning of her reign was such, and so extraordinary, that never was greater shown in that kingdom towards any sovereign." The parallel extends to the causes as well as to the results. Both sisters ascended the throne as successors to a government noted alike for oppressive and unpopular religious measures at home, and disastrous relations abroad. From both of them the nation demanded and eagerly expected the same thing. Instead of the bigoted and intolerant government of a small section of the community, they asked for a broad national treatment of the religious question. In the place of the feeble and compromising relations with the continental powers which had distinguished the government of the last few years, they

demanded a spirited and independent administration of foreign affairs. Such were the requirements of the nation, such were at once the reasons and the price of its loyalty and attachment.

To both queens the crisis presented itself in the most difficult and delicate question a woman can have to deal with —a question upon which she is tempted to consult the promptings of her heart and the guidance of her inclination rather than the dictates of state policy—in the choice of her husband. To Mary this question presented itself in its most disagreeable form. The people not only demanded that she should marry an Englishman, but actually pointed out the man she ought to choose. The whole of the queen's haughty Tudor blood rose in revolt against this dictation. She declared that she would choose for herself, sarcastically thanked the Commons for their care of her, and dismissed them, resolved more than ever to follow her own will. The result of this proved deplorable both for Mary and for the nation. The marriage with Philip rendered alike impossible a national settlement of religion, and an independent policy abroad. The loyalty and patriotism that had welcomed Mary to the throne found themselves set at variance by this unlucky step. Throughout the reign they engaged in a noiseless struggle that served no good end, and only neutralized the forces of the country.

Elizabeth had the same problem to deal with as her sister. She was besieged by foreign suitors for her hand ; among them, Philip was the chief. The nation, in its turn, begged the young queen to marry an Englishman. But for Elizabeth the situation was, in some respects, less trying than it had been for her sister. Courtenay was long since dead, and no peer remained of sufficient eminence to distinguish him much from among his fellows. The people, therefore, did not suggest a husband for the queen, but left her a free choice, provided she should select an Englishman.

Elizabeth also profited by the example of her sister's reign.

The turning point of Mary's career had been the Spanish marriage, and all her unpopularity and troubles had dated from this epoch. Elizabeth fully recognized this fact, and she had already shown her wisdom in refusing the various foreign suitors Philip proposed for her. But other powerful reasons also influenced her. The French king, anxious above all to draw England from the Spanish alliance, and fearing lest Elizabeth should follow her sister's example, approached her with the most favourable terms. If she would refuse Philip, remain unwed, and renounce Calais, Henry promised not only not to support the claims of Mary Queen of Scots, but to aid Elizabeth to the extent of his power.

It was in this situation that Elizabeth, overcoming what personal feelings she may have had, resolved upon that wise and politic course of conduct that she adhered to throughout her reign with admirable consistency. Refusing Philip, she also declined to marry a subject. The alliance with a foreign monarch would have rendered her unpopular with her people ; to marry a subject would have been to render all the rest of the nobility jealous. If now and again she negotiated a marriage with this or that foreign prince, it was simply for State reasons, and she always drew back at the critical moment. If, on the other hand, she kept at her side a Leicester or an Essex, it was to flatter the people with the hope that she would marry an Englishman, though as a matter of fact no serious steps in this direction were ever taken.

Elizabeth's conduct secured for her the enthusiastic and passionate attachment of her people. Those who had been most forward in opposition to her sister found that their hopes of her conduct had not been deceived, and they became the bravest and most ardent of her followers. If Mary had caused a division between the feelings of loyalty and patriotism, then so strong in the nation, Elizabeth united them in her person, and enjoyed the outcome of both sentiments. In time, indeed, the people began to appreciate the whole bent of

Elizabeth's policy, and waxed proud as they talked of their virgin queen, the glorious ruler of their precious little isle "set in the silver sea." When christening his new colony in America, and seeking a name by which to honour the queen, Sir Walter Raleigh could think of nothing better nor more appropriate than Virginia.

In the great crisis of her life Elizabeth chose wisely and well, just as her sister had chosen foolishly and ill. The energy and spirit of the nation, which only needed guidance and direction, had been thrown away under Mary when weakness and discord reigned everywhere. Elizabeth gave the national forces point and aim, and order and unity were the result. A strong national life at once sprang into being as if by magic. By solving the problem of her marriage the queen had settled nearly all the other difficulties that threatened her. Henceforward she could count upon the hearty and unreserved support of the nation, and, strong in this aid, she could resolutely and courageously face such embarrassments as might arise in foreign affairs.

Without fear of contradiction it may be said that the history of England in all its fulness begins with the reign of Elizabeth. The institutions, the habits, the ideas that form our life of to-day may in their principal outlines be found existing together at that reign, and for the first time. After a continental policy of conquests on the main land, the nation begins to perceive that its true career is on the seas, and makes the world ring with the fame of its daring mariners. Instead of winning continental lands, the English princes begin to think of founding colonies in the new world. After long years of sectarian strife, between Protestant and Catholic, the religious question is settled upon a firm basis destined to endure for generations. Finally, after a long eclipse, the House of Commons takes precedence of the House of Lords in all public questions, and comes forward to occupy that prominent position from which it has never retired. Here it meets the sovereign

face to face, and the great struggle begins for the commanding voice in the affairs of State that cannot long be denied to it.

The loss of Calais is one of the most important events in English history. When the news first became generally known foreigners as well as Englishmen thought that the importance of England as a European power had ceased to exist. Having allowed this great fortress and sea-port to slip out of their hands, the English would henceforth be doomed to remain shut up within the narrow limits of their little island. No one suspected that the loss of Calais, while marking the close of an important era in our foreign relations, prepared the way for a brilliant and more congenial sphere of action in another direction. The loss of the last of our possessions in France forms the final scene of a period and a policy which dates from William the Conqueror. At last, after many centuries, England had emerged from the thick swirl of European politics. The policy of frequent interference in foreign affairs was henceforth to be abandoned. All thoughts of conquests in France were given up, as well as all idea of the recovery of Henry II.'s inheritance. Although it is true that Englishmen turned away reluctantly from this ambition, yet the renunciation proved complete and thorough.

Shut out from a powerful influence on the Continent, England might well have fallen into that impotence that most men predicted for her. Fortunately she found new ways in which to show her power and energy, means by which she eventually made herself a thousand times more strong than she ever could have become by adopting the old continental policy.

Commerce had already made great strides in the country. The Company of the Merchant Adventurers existed, and carried on an active trade. In the reign of Edward VI. Sir William Willoughby had braved the rigours of the northern seas, and his little band of followers discovered the unknown land of Muscovy. A new company was at once started to

exploit this fresh country, and active commercial relations were at once instituted. On every side the same spirit might be seen, intensified by that agricultural distress which had induced many to turn their lands into pasture, and to endeavour to make the excellence of English wool better known.

The loss of Calais and all that was involved thereby naturally diminished the importance of the land forces, while it placed a greater responsibility on the fleet. It was upon her navy that England now relied, not only for the safety of her shores, but for the development of her growing commerce and for the discovery of fresh markets. Once launched on this career of maritime enterprise and colonization, England never abandoned it. Naturally, however, the beginnings were feeble and tentative. The sea-dogs, with all their daring and brilliance, accomplished very little of permanent importance. The only colony founded during Elizabeth's reign—Raleigh's settlement at Virginia—broke up miserably. The expeditions of Drake and his fellows were little better than buccaneering forays. Yet their work was of the first importance. In the great crisis of 1588 they showed themselves capable of bravely and successfully defending their country before the eyes of an astonished world. Even in other respects their efforts proved far from fruitless. It was something to have asserted the right of England to colonize. This country had been brought face to face with Spain on many and various occasions, and had invariably proved the stronger on the sea. Finally, when James proceeded to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, the way had been prepared for him and the difficulties smoothed away. What had shortly before seemed impossible became an accomplished fact.

As might have been expected, the strong national feeling, as we have seen, in every department of the national life, entered also into the domain of religion, and profoundly influenced those changes which had become inevitable. The joy of the nation at the accession of Elizabeth was largely

increased because the people believed that their new sovereign, as the daughter of a Protestant queen, whose history had been so closely bound up with the changes in religion, would herself prove a Protestant. In this feeling sectarian and dogmatic questions played but a small part. The severity of the Catholic government, the fires of Smithfield, and the fortitude of the victims undoubtedly caused a reaction in favour of Protestantism. But the insular national feeling operated far more strongly. The pope, in the eyes of most Englishmen, was a foreigner, and suffered therefore from the universal prejudice of the nation against strangers. This state of affairs is easy to explain. During the thousand years that England had been a Christian country only one Englishman had sat upon the papal throne and worn the tiara. Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Italians had all had their share, but England continued to be neglected by the sacred college, and even so eminent a man as Cardinal Wolsey failed to secure the coveted prize. As usual in our history, financial questions exercised a strong influence in this matter as in all others of importance. The people objected to paying continual subsidies and offerings to a power from which they derived no benefit, and with which their only relations were such payments in money, or interference with their national liberty and independence. It is not therefore surprising that the nation seized the earliest opportunity of throwing off a yoke that had become so irksome to them. Even the new colonial enterprises led the nation in the same direction. The pope, Alexander VI., had magnanimously divided the as yet unexplored new world between the Spaniards and Portuguese, and it is obvious that if the pretensions of the pontiff were admitted there was an end of all colonial development for England in the lands washed by the Pacific.

The Spanish marriage only tended to embitter feelings already widespread. They gained new force because the union of Philip and Mary constituted an attack upon the national

side of the question. Henceforward Catholicism and Spanish tyranny became all but synonymous. Philip was the eldest son of the Church, and in his person represented both bigotry and despotism. The persecutions of Mary, with all the odium they had excited, were attributed to his influence, and the English considered themselves fortunate for having escaped the Inquisition.

But although the Spaniard was the chief butt of this hostile feeling, the French princes shared the odium only in a less degree. This appeared particularly during the time that Elizabeth was dallying with Alençon, and the massacre of Saint Bartholomew doubtless had a great deal to do with it.

In short, the English people had grown to regard Roman Catholicism as the religion of foreigners; of Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Italians, the enemies of their country, a creed the profession of which was incompatible with true patriotism and loyalty.

The Church settlement of Elizabeth was excellently designed to meet the situation, and as an opportunist measure it answered every purpose. The provisions for ceremonies and vestments, the absolution, the Communion Service itself were all drawn up on vague and indefinite lines. Where so much was left uncertain, or rather ill defined, it was to the advantage of every one to join the body of the State Church. Men of widely different opinions thus found themselves partaking of the same communion, while the mass of the people, having no definite opinions, naturally followed what seemed easiest and most simple.

But the great merit of the Church under Elizabeth was its essentially national character. No foreigner, whoever he might be, could have any part in its control or government. The Protestants of all kinds supported it, as well as most of the Catholics, while only a few Papists still wished to retain the supremacy of the pope.

Whatever may be said for or against national Churches,

there can be little doubt but that some such settlement was needful for the nation in 1558. The violent changes in religion of the past few years had unsettled men's minds, and some middle course had become absolutely necessary. The government seemed the instrument best fitted to carry out such a measure, and it stepped into the breach. So imperative had such a settlement become, that the people tacitly demanded it, as is proved by the zeal with which they upheld it when accomplished, even though it might not fit all their beliefs. Puritan and Catholic alike recognized that a national ecclesiastical settlement was essential to the welfare of the country. They knew full well how necessary it was that England should present a united front in the midst of its danger, and that if it wished to be independent, and unbound by any allies, it could only be secure by the solidarity of its inhabitants. Thus, although they could not accept all that the Church taught or required, they were ready to submit to its supremacy, and even to its persecutions. Many of them indeed, availing themselves of the loose wording and early interpretation of its dogmas, entered its pale, and became Anglicans themselves.

But though this system was admirably adapted for the moment, it suffered the fate of all opportunist measures, and underwent in the future important modifications.. The moderate and indefinite character of the Anglican Church could not long continue. Even under Elizabeth it had taken an entirely Protestant tone, and the principal sees were filled with eminent Protestants and even Puritans. On the other hand, the tendency to shut out the Puritans grew stronger and stronger. By degrees the dogmatic position of the Church became clearer. Numerous penal codes defined more exactly its limits, and at the same time diminished the number of its communicants. The Catholics did not consider that enough of the old traditions had been retained. The Puritans would admit none whatever. Thus grew up side by side with the Established Church large bodies of Protestant and Catholic

dissenters, a state of affairs that began to take definite shape in the reign of Elizabeth.

It is needless after what has been said to dwell particularly upon the history of the House of Commons. The commanding position taken by the Lower Chamber during the reign of Mary was never abandoned, and in spite of repeated efforts of the Crown, the House of Commons continued to grow rapidly in power and influence until it had practically become the sole governing body of the country.

While it is interesting to note the presence of all these elements of our modern life taking shape in the England of Elizabeth, it is even more striking to observe how large a part was played by the Marian exiles, if not in their formation, at least in their development. In every branch that I have touched upon the same phenomenon may be observed. The religious settlement was profoundly influenced by what took place in the cities of the Empire. Of those who returned from the exile, one became Archbishop of Canterbury, several were made Bishops, whilst nearly all received some important preferment in the Church. At Frankfort Cox had laid down the lines that the Anglican Churchmen should follow, and his arrangement found acceptance afterwards. The Puritans who found themselves outside the bounds he set, or who were opposed to his delimitations, continued afterwards their non-conformity and their opposition upon the same principles that had moved them at Frankfort. It seemed as if the whole Protestant religious system had come out of the fiery trial of Mary's reign fully forged, and complete.

The exiles in France also had their share in the work. In the Killigrews, in Carew, and in Stafford we may discern, though perhaps faintly, the precursors of the sea-dogs of Elizabeth's reign. It is, however, less problematical to trace the connection between the spirited nobility and gentry who were continually plotting against Mary, and the similar hot-headed young spirits who adored Elizabeth. Those who had been the terror of the

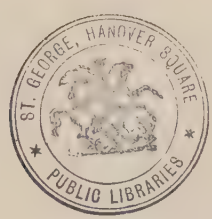
one sister had become the champions of the other. Unwittingly, and in spite of themselves, these same men had furnished in another way assistance to the development of the English nationality which they had so much at heart. The invasion of Stafford had been the immediate cause of the war with France, as the harbouring of Carew and Dudley had proved the chronic source of irritation. Dudley supplied the information as to the ill condition of the garrison at Calais upon which Guise undoubtedly acted. In this way the loss of Calais may in very large measure be attributed to the refugees, and with it all that it involved.

The influence of the exiles may be traced even to the Parliamentary history. Although in their absence they could naturally take no active part either in or out of the House of Commons, it was a bill affecting them that the Parliament ventured to throw out, against the express wishes of the queen. Thus it was upon a measure dealing with the exiles that Parliament made the first of a long series of acts of spirit and independence against the power of the Crown.

Where so much is explained by other causes it may well seem that the *rôle* of Elizabeth has been considerably modified. Yet it was she who had created the situation. Her determination not to marry a foreigner, her hesitation to take an Englishman and a subject rendered all the rest possible. This supreme act of wisdom was worth a thousand smaller ones. In other respects it was not the queen who took the initiative. She indeed chose, with consummate skill, wise and sagacious counsellors, but beyond this she was rather led than leader through the various events which mark her reign. The elements of the nation seemed to fall into their places of themselves. Little as there may seem in common between Puritan and Privateer, both of them found a place in the new England, and lived together in harmony. Their common bond consisted in their common patriotism. The trials of Mary's reign had taught a salutary lesson to all, and the old internal discords and

miseries were abandoned for the deep and pure pleasure of national unity and independence. Although the physical connection binding the heroes of Elizabeth's reign to the exiles of Mary's may not be easy or even possible to discover, the spiritual bond is unmistakable, nay striking.

Those tendencies that we have remarked in the exiles manifested themselves under Mary, like disembodied spirits, aimless and powerless. By the self-sacrifice of Elizabeth they gained point and body. The exiles returned to England to use all their influence for the establishment and furtherance of the complete insularity and independence of their native land. Upon what small pivots do great events turn! May we not say that the chief reason for the profound difference between the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth lies in the different way in which they approached and treated the delicate question of matrimony!



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